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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



A
DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE,
IN
REPLY
TO
LORD ERSKINE'S
"TWO DEFENCES OF THE WHIGS."

BY

Broughton
✓
JOHN C. HOBHOUSE, Esq. F. R. S.

25.10
5332
"But make you ready your stiff bats and clubs,
"Rome and her *Rats* are at the point of battle."

CORIOLANUS, Act I. Scene I.

—
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A

LETTER

TO

LORD ERSKINE, &c.

MY LORD,

I AM one of the deluded multitude who have been in the habit of devoting the hours they can spare from their low pursuits to the consideration of public events and public men. My first interference in politics was unaspiring, though zealous.—It became the mean condition and the headstrong nature of one belonging to the *lower orders*, and your Lordship will hardly object to the direction then given to my vulgar patriotism.

It was on the 9th of November, 1794, that I harnessed myself to the carriage of the Honourable Thomas Erskine, when that distinguished barrister was drawn through the streets of the

B

metropolis, amidst the blessings and the tears of a people whom he had saved from the gripe of oppression. Your Lordship does not praise yourself half enough for the exploits of those days.—It is but a poor description of them to say, “that you saved your Brother-reformers from being hanged.” The English, then, had but one hope left. Their parliament, instead of protecting them, lent aid to the tyrants that conspired their destruction. Nothing remained but to frighten or corrupt the tribunal which held the sword over those whom their mock representatives had delivered bound hand and foot to the bloody servants of the crown. A complaisant jury would have completed the work of a treacherous parliament. It was not the existence of HARDY which was at stake. If you had often before fought for victory in this cause, you then contended for the life of our British liberties. No time, no, nor your Lordship’s subsequent conduct, shall obliterate your share in the glorious struggle that gave a breathing-time to the last defenders of their country. The congratulations belonged to the rescued prisoner, but the praise was all your own;—you were the saviour of the innocent, the restorer of liberty, the champion of law, of justice, and of truth. Dazzled by your eloquence—animated by your courage—sympathizing with your success—your fellow-countrymen sunk under their admiration,

their gratitude, and their joy; and bowed down before the idol of their hearts.

My Lord, you should have died when you descended from the triumph of that memorable day. The timely end, which is the sole protection against the reverses of fortune, would have preserved you from that more lamentable change, which could have been occasioned only by yourself. Had your life closed with the procession, you would have gone down to posterity pure and entire. As it is, your admirers have nothing left for it, but to separate your early career from your present state, and to look at the record of your former exploits as belonging rather to history than to you.

Your Lordship has, I know, companions in this transformation. It was, doubtless, in another body that the soul of the present opposition leader incited the electors of Southwark to vote, not for George Tierney, but for *Reform*; and, I presume, that the author of the "*Vindiciæ Gallicæ*" looks upon that spirited performance much in the same way as the philosopher of old recognized the buckler, which, in his former state of existence, he had fought with at the Trojan war.

But however your Lordship may cast into the shade your former conduct and principles, they are still public property; nor can the ermine of the chancellor and the peer be drawn so tightly about you, as effectually to hide the

noble proportions and natural graces of the advocate. The gratitude of the people, like the vengeance of the king, knows no lapse; and if they are not now chained to your chariot, it is merely because your Lordship seems at present somewhat inclined to twist the traces round their necks. If we complain of you, it shall be in such a sort as shews we do not forget what you once were: and if we point to your former character and career when you were the idol of the multitude, we shall not, assuredly, awaken any disagreeable recollections. The excesses were graceful—they became your time of life, and the portrait of them will, perhaps, as Lord Rochester says:—

“ Please the ghost of your departed vice.”

And, indeed, we have reason to complain,—why could not your Lordship lie quiet? what, in the name of your former fame! what sent you simpling at this hour into the field of politics? And, if you would write against your old admirers, why not keep your secret? Why let it peep out like the silken-string of some new made knight, ill concealed at first, then still farther shown, and, at last, as vanity throws open button after button, displayed in full ridicule to the confusion of every friend, and the pity of every foe.

And so your Lordship is really the author of
“ A short Defence of the Whigs against the Im-

putations attempted to be cast upon them during the last Election for Westminster."

We of the rabble have not had Cobbett's grammar amongst us long enough to be very nice about language; but, methinks, your Lordship, in endeavouring to weaken the above *imputations*, has only weakened your own title-page: for the imputations *were* cast upon the Whigs: the *attempt* was not to *cast* them—the attempt was to make them stick: you might as well have said, "A Defence of Lord Sefton and of Lord William Russell, against the mud *attempted* to be cast at them." I do not think your Lordship is good at a title; let us see whether or not you are more successful, at what Goldsmith calls, "working off the body of the book."

One of my brethren has already made "A REPLY TO YOUR DEFENCE"—he has hit again—he has no doubt added to the crimes of the people, and given your Lordship a fresh proof of the existence of that "*organized and persevering system of detraction*,"* of which you so feelingly complain.

We are waiting for an answer to this Reply: you tell us, that you have "set an example of a system of defence." You hint, that you have vigorously "repelled former calumnies on the

* Defence, &c. p. 24.

Whigs." A fresh demand is made upon your vigour; as you have begun, you must go on: the self-elected champion of the party must not fling away his buckler at the first blow.

In the meantime, I shall take leave to remark upon such portions of your Defence as the replyer, being occupied upon the main argument, has left for others of the body of organized detractors; and if, in the course of the discussion, your own frailties, and those of your friends, should be exposed, I beg you to recollect, that it is not I that have drawn them from their dread abode—your Lordship has been the voluntary magician who has stepped forth to scare us with the spectre of another Whig apostate.

According to your Defence, Mr. Hobhouse, supported by Sir F. Burdett, has attempted to expose the Whigs "*as a corrupt and profligate faction,*" apostates from the cause of Reform, which they had *once solemnly pledged themselves to support*—or, "*to speak plainly,*" has, so you say, endeavoured to prove "*that a Whig might now be considered as a term of ridicule or reproach.*"

I have looked over Mr. Hobhouse's speeches—I have looked over Sir F. Burdett's speeches, at the late Election, and I no where find that either of those gentlemen called the Whigs a *corrupt and profligate faction*. I dare say they thought so; but they appear never to have used the words.—"Arrogant," "overbearing"—"selfish,"

“ false,” “ boasting,” “ interested,” “ tricky,” “ mean,” “ shallow,” “ deceitful,” “ jealous,” and “ impotent,” were, it seems, epithets applied to your Lordship’s friends more than once, and which seemed to tickle the fancies of the audience—That they were, some of them, abettors of the corruptions of Parliament, was also hinted at—but I know not that in a body they were ever designated by either the candidate or Sir F. B. as a *corrupt* and *profligate* faction. Your Lordship knows the value of words, and should therefore be exact in your references—But had the words been used, the inference—the “ plain inference,” as you call it, is not a little overstrained.—If the Whigs were “ corrupt and profligate,” the word Whig would not *therefore* be a term of “ ridicule.”—God knows that the party have done mischief too serious to be the occasion of a jest—corruption and profligacy are no laughing matters to the people—the people do not laugh at them—but the Whigs do.

But your Lordship is not the first honest man who has been afraid of being laughed at, and it should seem that self-conviction has told you that there is something ludicrous in the present position of the Whigs: as a body they are too odious to be matter of joke; but the silly figure made by some individuals of the party at the last Election may justify your apprehension.

Indeed, my Lord! you cannot imagine any thing quite so ridiculous as the daily appearance

of the *natural leaders*, (as your Whig journal calls them) in the face of their natural followers—A downright, open, impudent, ministerial candidate, backed by the consciousness that his double pots and pay will reward him for the terrors of the Hustings, and undauntedly struggling with the storms of unpopularity, is a spectacle not altogether unworthy the imitation of a certain class of men, and such as the gods of Downing-Street may view with rapture.—But had you seen, and had you heard the Whigs at Covent Garden—had you seen and heard the representatives of their noble houses—had you seen or heard the honourable proposer of the candidate, the pride of the opposition—had you seen and heard the honourable candidate himself—all of them smiling, and bowing, and sweating before the people—wishing to convince them that they loved them, and were beloved by them—averring that they belonged to those who had all along done them so much good, and who would do them so much good again—protesting that they desired nothing but the liberty and happiness of their friends and fellow citizens—that they did not care about themselves—but were always devoted to the people only, and to the cause of freedom and revolution.—Had you, I say, my Lord! seen and heard all this professed courtship and affection, and had witnessed how they were received—What hootings—what taunts—what laughter followed upon every profession of former faith—

upon every promise of future constancy—indeed you would have doubted your senses—never were benefactors, friends, lovers, reduced to so piteous a pleading of their past services and their present passion.—When the brother of one great family stepped forward to show, as we supposed, how it was expected that the admirers and tenants of his house should vote, and to tell of ancient merits, you would have been reminded of the old beau Fielding, who, when his mistress was inexorable, as a last resource, uncovered his bosom, and displayed an ugly scar.—The people, like the lady, preposterously laughed and mocked the veteran suitor—Indeed his Lordship furnished an inimitable addition to Swift's "Mean Figures."—Had you still further heard the candidate protesting to the last, that in spite of the hootings of thousands, he was the only true love of all—that he was opposed only by a hired few, whose retreat would leave him the undisputed applauses of the rational world.—Had you heard this modest confession cheered by the little knot around him, and by the *unbought* voices of the Prize-fighters beneath him—and at the same time half-drowned by the scornful shouts and denials of the vast multitude—had you heard this unaccountable rejection of the Whig addresses by those whom they have served and saved, and still will serve and save, your Lordship might have shuddered at such blindness and ingratitude; but you would,

you must have smiled at the strange equivocal appearance of the unfortunate suitors for popular favor.

Moreover—had your Lordship seen your honourable candidate, as I protest I saw him, bowing complacently to Mr. Hunt, and speaking from the same board—had you seen all your honourable and right honourable friends ranging in a line and confused in a body, with Mr. Gale Jones and the above gentleman, together with the band of bludgeon patriots—had you heard the mutual civilities, and ready fraternization of the concordant souls, united in their opposition to Mr. Hobhouse, and in their hatred of Sir F. Burdett—united in the hissings and revilings which were impartially bestowed by the whole body of the people upon them all—this sight might, indeed, have recalled you to the better and brighter days of your party—I do not know whether your Lordship would have laughed at this—I do not know whether you would have been pleased to see the reporter of your own forty years' friend Mr. Perry, as he was seen, prompting Mr. Hunt, and regulating the movements of the ruffians hired to make a show of popularity—but I know that I felt no malicious delight in seeing the Whigs so degraded, so lost and utterly abandoned.

However, your Lordship thinks, your Lordship feels, that Whig is become a term of ridi-

cule.—It is so—not, however, from any thing said by the Reformers—but from every thing said and done by the Whigs themselves.

Besides—do look at the Whigs—the scorn and laughter of a House of Commons, of which the very door-keepers complain.—Your Lordship must not think yourself amongst your old friends and coadjutors.—Indeed, you must forgive me if I tell you, that I really thought you yourself had left the Whigs, and that I suspect you are generously appearing as the champion of those of whom you know little or nothing—I thought that the Whigs had pronounced that a weak lawyer had gone astray, and in mercy had attributed the wandering to his “*stars*.”—I thought that your Lordship had repaid the joke by an equivalent, and had declared your ancient co-partners and brothers in exile from the court, just as impracticable and uncompromising, as they are pleased to charge the Reformers with being.

Surely I cannot be mistaken as to the individual; and if I am not mistaken, either your Lordship, or the opposition, cannot be Whigs; or Sir F. Burdett was quite right in saying that no one knows who the Whigs are, or what their principles are. No small portion of the merit of the opposition, as stated by themselves, is their disinterestedness in making no sacrifices for the sake of court-favor. Your Lordship is not so enamoured of martyrdom.

Your Lordship says, that if a Whig is now to be considered a term of ridicule or reproach, we shall “cast into the shade the *character of the Revolution itself*.” Not at all—you might as well say, “if you laugh at Lord Erskine’s green ribbon, you cannot have any respect for Mr. Erskine’s defence of Hardy.”

Besides, your Lordship must see the extreme absurdity of supposing that a nation will allow itself not to judge of men as to their contemporary conduct, but as the mere representatives of those who lived and acted well a century ago.

Perhaps I may not be so great an admirer of the chief actors in the Revolution of 1688 as your Lordship; but, supposing me to be so, do you think that I shall join with you in gazing with delight on those, who instead of planting and reaping the laurels of patriotism for themselves, snatch the ready made garlands which hang on the bier of the heroes of the Revolution, and attach them to their own unhonoured brows?

I tell your Lordship, that the Whigs are always dealing out names*—you have done so

* It is an old, a favorite Whig trick—in early times the Whigs were always playing off the word LIBERTY. Thus Sir R. Steele endeavoured, says Swift, to impress upon his reader such weighty truths as these:—That *liberty is a very good thing*; that *without liberty we cannot be free*: that *health is good, and strength is good*; but *liberty is better than either*: that *no man*

yourself, whether Whig or not. It is impossible to collect from your Defence of the Whigs, what Whigs you mean to defend, they ought to be certainly the Whigs who were attacked—but your Defence leaves the persons uncertain.—Was the Whig to whom you alluded, one who takes an honor or refuses it? Was he one who “rides rough shod through Carlton House,” or one who seats himself in loyal shoe leather at the dinner table? Was he one who flatters his Prince, or one who defames him?—Are your Whigs the Whigs who flourished at the Westminster Election in 1819, or the Whigs who figured in the Revolution of 1688?—Were they the Whigs, who, as your Lordship tells us,* *were accused by others of their own body as Republicans, who sought to introduce anarchy by overshadowing the sober and regulated character of our own Revolution;*” or were they the Whigs, who, as your Lordship does in this very Pamphlet, accuse the Reformers of neither more nor less than this very crime?—Were they Foxites, Fitzwilliamites, or Tierneyites?—Were they old or

can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is best: that men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty. See “The Public Spirit of the Whigs.” Surely a Newcastle orator could not have talked more profoundly; it was, is, and ever will be the true language of a GENTLEMAN BORN, as poor Dick Steele called himself.

* Defence, &c. p. 8.

new Whigs? friends of revolution, or decriers of revolution? radical Reformers—moderate Reformers—or no Reformers?—Friends of the people, and seceders from the parliament; or haters of the people, and flatterers of the parliament? All these after their kind are mentioned and praised, and it is impossible to know whom you would particularly defend, unless your Lordship is pleased with the agreeable variety, and would defend them all.—In fact it is the *name* Whig which you like, and which you would wish us to like;—it is the *name* revolution which you hold up to us, and which you could wish us always to think of as a *name* and nothing else; the pretext of the party for doing nothing, the plaything of the people to keep them from complaining that nothing is done.*

It is, my Lord, notorious that the Whigs have at different times attached different ideas to this their favorite word.—They of the late Westminster election made use of it as a catch-word *against* the Reformers. The Foxites of 1793 and 1797 associated it *to* their radical reform. In those days the high prerogative writers and talkers reminded the Whigs “that their famous” Revolution was but a *mere name*, and so far

* “The more revolutions the better,” said a great Whig; and the girl at Bartholomew Fair, who got a penny for turning round a hundred times, said the same thing no doubt.—See the *Examiner*, No. 39.

from bringing about any material change of system, was in fact nothing but the *preservation and solemn recognition of the hereditary monarchy of this Realm, and of all its ancient laws and government.**”—The author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, a book now almost as much forgotten and laid aside as the Whig principles of 1798, ventured from his obscurity to whisper this assertion into the ear of Mr. Fox. Whether or not he was altogether borne out in his statement, is a question not connected with our present discussion; but it may be of use to remind your Lordship, that we of the people do not agree with you who are descended from the Stuarts† in thinking that the particular portion of the Revolution which is most to be admired, is that in which there was no revolution.—And that if you delight to behold in that event the prudence with which old institutions were preserved, we are rather pleased with the courage with which new amendments were hazarded.—You say, “our ancestors, at that period, were well aware of the full right of the people to have resettled the whole frame of their Constitution; but they were wise enough to leave every thing untouched, which in principle and effect had not failed, and to provide only for the emer-

* Preface to Dialogue iv. of *Pursuits of Literature*.

† “My ancestors thought of the Stuart family, &c.” Preface, p. vi.

“ gency of a vacant or forfeited throne; by
 “ adhering as closely to ancient inheritance as
 “ the security of the constitution would admit.
 “ An alleged defect in this great work, so often
 “ in the mouths of Revolutionists, [meaning us,
 “ my Lord,] the sober-minded Whigs, [meaning
 “ your Lordship and Company,] consider as
 “ decisively characteristic of its wisdom. The
 “ people at large were not called upon to act
 “ for themselves, as if the whole frame of the
 “ ancient government had been dissolved; but
 “ writs were sent to the convention parliament
 “ to supply the *single defect which had taken*
 “ *place.*” *

Such are your Lordship's words, and I would
 beg you to remark how exceedingly well they
 tally with those which I have just before quoted
 from the poor terrified enthusiast who pelted
 your Lordship, in poetry and prose, with Latin,
 Greek, and English, for “ the flimsy and puerile
 View of the causes and consequences of the
 present French war;” and told you “ not to call
 those slaves, and the sons of slaves, who were
 better men, and descended from better men,
 than yourself.” †

* Defence, &c.

† The Pursuer of literature quoted Demosthenes, which
 came, as he thought, pat to his purpose, although he did not
 think Mr. Barrister Erskine quite such a “ *being as Androtion.*”
 P. of L. dialogue, iv.

Permit me, however, since I am on this subject, to express my astonishment that your Lordship should venture to give such an historical picture of the Revolution, as I find in the assertion, that this Revolution was happily not effected by an indignant and enraged multitude, but “ was slowly prepared by the most virtuous
 “ and best informed amongst the higher and
 “ enlightened classes of the people, who took
 “ prudent and effectual steps for securing its
 “ success without bloodshed, being confident of
 “ the support of a vast majority of the people.”

Notwithstanding all this slow preparation on the part of the virtuous and well informed Whig nobility, it is pretty certain that the Revolution was finally brought about by the desertion of the army, which was not contemplated beforehand, but occurred unexpectedly; but most of all, by the King's flight.—Even “*Lero! lero! libulero!*” had perhaps as much to do with the change, as any or all of the Whigs put together.* I am willing to believe that it was some better motive than the wish to play at double or quits with king James for his 10,000*l.*, that made the Earl of Devonshire join in the invitation to William; but whatever were the motives of the higher and enlightened classes, it is not entirely to them, that an eye-witness ascribes the completion of

* See Burnet's History, &c. vol. ii. p. 535.

the Revolution. Bishop Burnet tells us, that even when the Prince of Orange first landed, he remained eight days at Exeter, without being joined by any of the neighbouring gentry; but that those of my own class, “THE RABBLE *of the people came in to him in great numbers.*”* This they did, like true rabble, in the day of doubts and danger, and before the army of King James had revolted.—The same author has another record to the honor and glory of the same portion of the King’s subjects, for he tells us, that in the greatest emergency of the state, when two years after the Revolution, the restoration of king James was by no means improbable, the French being masters of the sea, and England being defended by only 7000 regular troops, the Jacobites were prevented from making any head, and “all England over were kept out of the way, afraid of being fallen upon by the RABBLE.”† Though it was harvest time, the people expressed more zeal and affection for the new government, than care for their own subsistence.

The Rabble had much greater share in confirming the Revolution, such as it occurred, than your Lordship seems to be aware; and as to the “*single defect,*” to supply which, the ancestors of your Lordship, and of your Lordship’s friends,

* Burnet, as above.

† Burnet’s History, &c. vol. iii. p. 75.

prepared, as you say, the Revolution. I must repeat my astonishment at such an assertion from a man, who though in his younger days he modestly confessed *he had not the talents of a Statesman*,* must still be expected to be tolerably acquainted with history. It was not the single defect of a vacant throne, that brought about the invitation of William Prince of Orange. The throne was not vacant, it was not at all intended that the throne should be declared vacant; the only point to be considered relative to the throne, was the birth of the Prince of Wales.—I refer you to the Declaration which the Prince of Orange signed and sealed on the 10th of October, and published on his landing.—A *single defect indeed!* “What did the declaration set forth? all the numerous violations of the laws of England, both as to religion, civil government, and the administration of justice; the invasion of the right of petitioning, and particularly the *packing* of Parliaments,—these cannot be called a *single defect*, nor was the change of dynasty the remedy proposed. “The States of the United Provinces said the truth, when they affirmed that the King was not gone to England on design to dethrone the late King.”†—No! The Prince of Orange

* See P. of L. dialogue iv. and “View of the Causes and Consequences of the present French war.”

† King William III. Memorial, &c. Somers’s Tracts, vol. xi. p. 107.

might indeed look for an eventual Crown for his wife, in case king James's son was set aside, but the proper and effectual remedy which he proposed for redressing the growing evils, was a Parliament that would be lawfully chosen, and should sit in full freedom.*

I am willing to grant to your Lordship the fact, that it did not come *into action*, at the Revolution, to *re-model* the frame and constitution of Parliament; but I think I have said enough to show, that the multiplied defects of misgovernment, (not the *single defect*) were to be remedied by an uninfluenced parliament. Let me add, that King William, after having obtained the Crown, did make it his boast, that he had called together a free and fair Parliament, without the least interference in elections.†—I have learnt from Lord Grey, “ that one of the principles asserted at the Revolution, was, that a man ought not to be governed by laws in the framing of which he had not a voice, either in person or by his representative.”‡

* The 16th, 19th, and 20th, paragraphs of the Prince of Orange's Declaration all refer to the *Free Parliament*, which was to remedy every thing. See the Jacobite Answer to this Declaration, published when the Prince landed. See Somers's Tracts, vol. ix. p. 286.

† See the above cited Memorial. Somers's Tracts, vol. xi. p. 107.

‡ Parl. Debates, 1793, May 6th.

Your Lordship gives as a reason for this *non-reform* at the Revolution, that “ the Crown had not *then* originated the system, nor acquired the means of a corrupt influence in the House of Commons.”*

Here I must remark, that supposing your assertion to be true, you throw all the odium of the corruption on the Whigs, who were acknowledgedly the masters for so large a portion of the 70 years following the Revolution; and supposing it to be true, you also prove nothing against Reform, by saying it was not resorted to *at* the Revolution, as you tell us that the evil which Reform is to remedy has arisen *since* the Revolution.

But your Lordship goes too far in saying, that Parliamentary Reform did not come *even into view* at the Revolution. It would have been strange, indeed, if the great Borough-proprietors, concerned in the Revolution, had sacrificed the very means by which they hoped to hold the King in their power; and, accordingly, we do not hear of the first, or either of the early ministries of William III. having resorted to any measure, by which the control of the People could be increased, and organized, and secured, and the influence of the aristocracy diminished and reduced to its due bounds. Had

* Defence, &c. p. 5.

the Devonshires and the Danbys done this, instead of heaping honours and emoluments upon their own houses, the worthy Mr. Walter Fawkes would not have been able to say, that the Revolution was a bill of fare, without a feast.*

But though these great Whigs kept Parliamentary Reform out of view as much as they could, yet it was in view ; and your Lordship is quite wrong in saying, that the system of parliamentary corruption was unknown at the Revolution. It was known, and it was felt ; and, as I said before, it was the PACKING of *parliaments* of which the revolutionists chiefly complained, and it was the convoking of a free representation of the people which was the great object, I may say, the only avowed object of the friends of William, and of William himself. The Duke of Monmouth may have been supposed to know what would tempt the people, and he promised them the annual election of their representatives. †

* Amongst other unfurnished items in this bill, was the abolition of ex-officio informations.

† “ Our resolution in the next place is, to maintain all the “ just rights and privileges of Parliament, and to have par-
“ liaments annually chosen and held, and not prorogued,
“ dissolved, or discontinued, within the year, before peti-
“ tions be first answered, and grievances redressed.” See
“ State Trials,” vol. ii. p. 1032, and note ; also Ralph’s “ His-
tory,” vol. i. p. 873, which says, “ Monmouth’s sudden and
surprising success must be attributed to his declaration.” Mr.

I will confess, with your Lordship, that we do owe the complete and admirably organized corruption of the House of Commons to the Whigs who reigned for so long, in the name and on the behalf of the first sovereigns of the new dynasty, (for it is nonsense talking about the CROWN originating the system) : but there was such a thing as bribing, and threatening, and treating voters, before the said Whigs began to shew, that, however the honour of the invention might belong to others, the utility of the full application was reserved for their own happy genius. Indeed, the influencing of voters was so notorious, and had arrived at such a pitch in the reigns of the two last Stuarts, that a jacobite writer, before quoted, speaks of *a truly free parliament as a chimera ; for by-money, drink, or power, elections had ever suffered an ill byass upon them.**

Hume, indeed, finds it " chiefly calculated to suit the prejudices of the vulgar, or the most bigotted of the Whig party ;" but Mr. Fox in pointing out the faults of the Declaration, (History, p. 271), does not mention the resolution to have Annual Parliaments. I am aware that Reresby (pp. 202, 203,) interprets "*chosen and held*," by the word *sit*.

* See the Reply to the Declaration of the Prince of Orange. Somers's Tracts as above, Vol. ix. p. 286, edit. Scott.

" This was so true, that even Charles and James when the Commons were risen, were driven to the garbling of Cor-
" porations."—*Mr. Erskine's Speech on Mr. Grey's Motion for Parliamentary Reform, 1793.*

Now, this recognized evil, as well as a wish prevalent amongst many politicians, to extend to the utmost the control of the people over the affairs of government, *had* brought a Reform of Parliament *into the view* of many of those concerned in the Revolution: and one of the complaints, made at a very early period against the first ministers of King William, was, that they had done nothing towards securing the due influence and control of the People, in the choice of their representatives. It is true, as Lord Bolingbroke confesses, that “ *the frequency, integrity, and independency of Parliament, the essentials of British liberty, were almost wholly neglected at the Revolution.*” * That nobleman, indeed, looked upon this neglect in a very different light from your Lordship.—He thought it a misfortune: you notice it amongst the praises of the Revolution. But the same author mentions a fact of which your Lordship is, or affects to be, wholly ignorant, namely, that, “ soon after the Revolution, men of all sides, and all denominations, (for it was not a party-measure, though it was endeavoured to be made such) began to perceive not only that nothing effectual had been done to hinder the undue influence of the Crown in elections, and an over-balance of the creatures of the court in parliament, but that the means of exercising such an influence,

* Dissertation on Parties, Letter xi.

“ at the will of the Crown, were unawares
 “ and insensibly increased, and every day in-
 “ creasing.” Lord B. adds, that the great body
 of the nation then discovered that by this event,
 namely, the settlement of the nation at the Re-
 volution without the necessary provision in
 favour of free parliaments, *the foundations were*
*laid of establishing universal corruption.** The
 declaration of Rights by the convention had said,
 that elections of members of parliament ought
 to be free; † “ but that this right was not more
 “ than claimed, that they were not effectually
 “ asserted, and secured, at this time, gave,”
 says the same writer, “ *very great* and im-
 “ mediate dissatisfaction, and some, who were
 “ called Whigs, in those days, distinguished
 “ themselves by the loudness of their com-
 “ plaints.” ‡ These Whigs were not, perhaps,
 those Stuart ancestors of your Lordship, who
 supported the Revolution: but they were men
 of some name and authority. Mr. Hampden,
 for instance, insisted “ that there could be no *real*
 “ *settlement*, nay, that it was *a jest to talk of settle-*
 “ *ment*, till the manner and time of calling par-
 “ liaments, and their sitting when called, were
 “ fully determined; and this, in order to prevent

* Dissertation on Parties, Letter xviii.

† See Parliamentary Debates, A. 1688.

‡ Letter xi.

“ the practice of keeping one and the same par-
 “ liament long on foot, till the majority was
 “ corrupted by offices, gifts, and pensions.”*
 Mr. Johnson, chaplain to Lord Russel, asserted,
 that one line, settling and securing a fair and free
 House of Commons, would have been worth all
 the Bill of Rights. But, lest your Lordship
 should say, these were mere moderate reformers,
 (although, be it recollected, you have forgotten
 there were any reformers at all at the Revolution)
 let me add, that the complainants insisted, that
 “ *the assurances given at the Revolution had led*
 “ *them to think that the ANCIENT LEGAL COURSE*
 “ *of ANNUALLY CHOSEN PARLIAMENTS* † would
 “ have been immediately restored; and the par-
 “ ticular circumstances of King William, who
 “ had received the crown by gift of the people,
 “ and who had renewed the original contract
 “ with the people (which are precisely the cir-
 “ cumstances of the present royal family) were
 “ urged as particular reasons for the nation to
 “ expect his compliance.” So you see, my
 Lord, that Parliamentary Reform, Radical Par-
 liamentary Reform, a Reform, which should
 make the House of Commons emanate solely

* See “Considerations concerning the State of the Nation,” published in 1692, referred to in Letter xi.

† See An Enquiry or a Discourse, published in 1693, and quoted in Letter xi.

from the People, and be chosen every year, *was in view* of the contemporaries of the Revolution, and was expected to have been obtained, owing to the ASSURANCES given by the managers of the Revolution. The patriots, or if you please, the complainers, of that day, soon found that the frequent sitting of parliament had been provided for, and that Annual Sessions had been found necessary for the sake of raising annual supplies. But the “*ancient legal course of annually chosen parliaments*” was so far from being established, that on the contrary it soon was established by law, that the king might keep the same parliament together for three years.

I fear indeed that your Lordship’s Stuart ancestors had not only a great deal to do, but a great deal too much to do with the Revolution : and that they were partly employed in keeping out of view that which a large body of the nation had in view ; that is, the solemn establishment of a representation of the people, fully, fairly, freely and frequently chosen.—It is known that the views of some of those who acted in the Revolution extended even so far as a Republic. There were at least two plans for erecting a Commonwealth openly published, whilst the settlement of the Crown was uncertain—They are reprinted, with due animadversions on their exceeding and monstrous folly, by Mr. Walter Scott, in his edition of Lord Somers’s Tracts.—

Burnet owns that there were some in the Convention who wished “to raise the power of the people on the ruin of the monarchy.”*—Major Wildeman, who came over with the Prince of Orange, was an old Republican, and there were many in parliament who opposed the limitation against a Popish successor, solely with the hope of restoring the Commonwealth after the death of William.—The managers, however, chose to content themselves with declarations—those pompous trifles, which Bolingbroke decries, and which, though they satisfy your Lordship and many of your contemporaries, were, as I have before mentioned, soon exposed by the complainants of “all orders and all denominations,” immediately after the Revolution.

My Lord, you are surely wrong in this point—nor must you shelter yourself behind your expression—“A Reform in the original frame and constitution of Parliament,”† because the complainants made not use of the word Reform, perhaps, but on the contrary, desired a *Restoration* of what they thought this original frame and constitution.—Equally unaccountable is it, that you should ascribe this neglect in the settlement of the nation to the fact, that “the House of Commons under its ancient forms had

* History, Book IV.

† Defence, &c. p. 4.

recently obtained the full confidence of the people by the renovation of the Constitution.”*

Such neglect may be ascribed to any other cause—Bolingbroke presumes that the great fear being that of prerogative, prevented the consideration of the greater danger, namely, undue influence. But I think it would be charitable to help the Whigs to a reason, which, however, may be partly unpalatable—to wit—that the Revolution of 1688 was notoriously the work partly of the Tories, as well as of the Whigs.—It surely would have been in character, if you as a defender of the Whig faith and so forth, had adopted the division usual with your party, and if you had reluctantly owned that the glorious Revolution was not the sole work of the Whigs, and had fearlessly proclaimed that all the good of that great work must be claimed for the Whigs, whilst all the evil, all the sins of omission or commission, must of right be attributed to the Tories.—Why did not your Lordship throw all the blame on *those distinguished Tories, some of whom carried highest the doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, and were engaged in it.*†

* Defence, &c. p. 5.

† Dissertation on Parties, Letter VII. See also further in Letter VIII.

“ There was a party that concurred in making the new settlement; a party that prevailed in Parliament, and was

The formation of the first ministry distinctly shows that the Whigs alone were not those who found favor in the eyes of King William—Lord Halifax was no Whig—still less was Lord Nottingham a Whig.—Indeed the King's first ministry, so far from being composed of those patriots which your Lordship would make us believe the framers of the Revolution settlement to have been, were much like other ministers; and Sir Charles Sedley proclaimed that his Majesty, whatever were his private inclinations, was *encompassed and hemmed in by a company of crafty old Courtiers*.*

The Whigs lost the good opinion of King William before he had been a year on the throne—"by the heat," says Burnet, "that they showed in both Houses against their ene-

"by much the majority of the nation out of it.—Were the "Whigs this majority? Was this party a Whig party?—No "man will presume to affirm so notorious an untruth. The "Whigs were far from being this majority, and King James "must have died on the Throne, if the Tories had not con- "curred to place the Prince of Orange there in his stead."

* Parliamentary Debates, 1689. The Tories and Whigs coalesced a short time afterwards—Swift calls it an unnatural league, and puts these words in Italics—*The Sovereign authority was parcelled out among the faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an offending minister*.—EXAMINER, No. 29.

What did the Grenvillio-Sidmouthian-Foxite Administration in the case of Pitt's monument and debts?

mies, and by the coldness that appeared in every thing that related to the public, as well as to the King in his own particular.”*—It appeared, that before a year and a half had expired, they had also completely lost the good opinion of the People: for in the new Parliament that met on the 20th of March, 1690, the Tories were *by far the greater part* returned.—The chief cause of this disgust, was the attempt to pass the Corporation Bill, which, as Burnet owns, *would have put the King and the nation in the hands of the Whigs.*† And yet the King found a way to quiet the Whigs who were discontented at the Tory Parliament.—He gave places to some of the party, and dismissed some of their opponents—So that, as the same Author observes, “ Whig and Tory were now pretty equally mixed; and *both studied to court the King by making advances on the Money Bills.*”‡

Whatever principles of action were laid down by the Whigs, it is certain that their conduct was similar to that of the opposing party, and that the great master-spring of their policy was selfishness. They liked neither King William, nor cared for the people—except as appendages to their own power and dignity. It is AN UNDOUBTED TRUTH, *that a year or two after the*

* History, &c. Book V. vol. iii. p. 46.

† History as above, p. 54.

‡ History, &c. p. 55.

Revolution, several leaders of that party had their pardons sent them by King James; and had entered upon measures to restore him, on account of some disobligations they received from King William.

They soon began that artifice which they continued for so many years, of playing off the exiled against the reigning Sovereign, and upon all occasions preferred their belief that the Pretender was not an impostor but a real prince.—Your Lordship will recognise both these quotations as proceeding from a professed enemy of the new Whigs,* (for Swift thought himself an old Whig); but a great writer is worth listening to, when he proclaims an *undoubted truth*;—at any rate the contemporary people must be thought to have had better opportunities of judging the merits of the actors in the Revolution than your Lordship; and this people had completely found out the Whigs in less than ten years after the accession of King William.—The job of creating a new East India Company, and above all, “the inclinations which those of the Whigs who were in good posts, (they are Burnet’s words) had expressed for keeping up a greater landed force,” and a charge of “robbing the public of the money given for the service of the nation, both to the supporting a vast expense,

* Examiner, No. 39. and No. 43.

and to the raising great estates to themselves."* these were the immediate causes of the general disrepute of the party, which your Lordship seems to imagine to have been in perpetual and tranquil, and merited possession of the popular love, from the Revolution to the present day.

I trust I have partially succeeded in showing that there are some particulars relative to the glorious Revolution, which those who are perpetually boasting of it are willing to keep out of sight.—I trust that your Lordship is now aware that the connecting the merits of the Revolution with the merits of the Whigs, even of that day, is to count too much upon the ignorance of the Rabble; and that to entail those merits, such as they were, upon the Whigs of the present day, is a device too trite and stale to be employed, except to adorn a declamation and please the boys of a Fox Club.

Your Lordship must be aware how easy it would be for me to prove that there has been nothing like an uninterrupted succession of opinions and principles inherited by the same families, or indeed descending through the same apparent party, which can give even a plausible claim to your modest Whig pretensions to exclusive patriotism.

If the Whigs have inherited any rule of con-

* History of the Reign of King William, year 1698, vol. iii. p. 289.

duct, some people may think they find it in this their early characteristic—"Give the Whigs but
 "power enough to insult their Sovereign, en-
 "gross his favor to themselves, and oppress and
 "plunder their fellow subjects; they presently
 "grow into good humour and good language
 "towards the Crown; profess they will stand
 "by it with their lives and fortunes: and what-
 "ever rudeness they may be guilty of in private,
 "yet they assure the world there was never so
 "gracious a monarch."*

The "foolish," "vulgar," "cant," "con-
 ceited," "fantastic," appellations of Whig and
 Tory began to be used about the year 1676, and
 were much in vogue during the latter end of
 King Charles the Second's reign; they were
 nearly dropt during the reign of James II. The
 real distinction expired—but the names revived
 at the Revolution.—Before they had been thirty
 years old, "they had been pressed into the ser-
 vice of many succession of parties," and "ap-
 plied to very different kinds of principles and
 persons."—If at first, to oppose even the King's
 guard was to be a Whig, it was found in King
 William's reign, that "to be for a Standing
 Army," "to raise the prerogative above law for
 serving a turn," and "to exalt the King's supre-
 macy beyond all precedent," were also the signs

of being a Whig.—At one time the Whigs cried *up* the House of Commons as at the Convention Parliament, while they appeared to have the majority there.—At another time they cried *down* the House of Commons and extolled the Lords:—witness their support of the Kentish petitioners in 1701. It was very natural, then, that in Queen Anne's reign, “the bulk of the Whigs appeared rather to be linked to a certain set of persons, than to any certain set of principles.”*

Now your Lordship knows, that against this set of persons, against individuals called Whigs, the great body of the nation was for more than half a century united; and that almost every act of which the people now complain, may be traced to Whig administrations.—It is now seventy years since Lord Bolingbroke endeavoured to expose the extreme absurdity of preserving the nominal distinction of Whig and Tory, and enforced the incontrovertible truth, that the whole nation could be divided in fact only into two distinct sets of men, namely, the abettors of and gainers by Parliamentary corruption, and the opposers of and sufferers by the same corruption.†—His Lordship's individual character cannot invalidate a truth: though I know that it is a modern

* Examiner, No. 43, where the words under inverted commas will be found.

† See particularly the first and last Letter in his Dissertation on Parties.

Whig trick to depreciate the sound doctrines of those who exposed the Whig Administrations of George I. and II., by saying that the motive of the complaint was a preference of the dethroned family—And what if they did prefer the Stuarts to the house of Hanover?—The English who changed their reigning family in 1688, did not do it as a child at play changes its toys—it appears that they did not intend the change of Kings, but only looked at more substantial advantages—their object was a relief from misgovernment; and if the subjects of the House of Hanover felt that they wanted relief from the same evil, they were, perhaps, right in thinking that the restoration of the exiled family was the best expedient.—It would not, I think, be difficult to prove, that the majority of the people of England was always against the new settlement, and the manner in which it was supported by Whig administrations, who were thus obliged to organize their corrupt House of Commons as a counterpoise to the popular will.—At all events, they were perfectly justified in doing their best to convince their fellow countrymen that men calling themselves Whigs, who had nothing in their mouths but “*the power and majesty of the people, the original contract, the authority and independency of Parliament, liberty, resistance, exclusion, abdication, deposition,*”* and

* Dissertation on Parties, Letter I.

who attributed to themselves exclusively every patriotic virtue in contradistinction to what they called the Tory advocates of prerogative, non-resistance, and slavery, were, in effect, mere pretenders to popular virtues which they never possessed, and kept alive those distinctions for the worst purposes of delusion and self-interest.

Your Lordship knows that the folly of the distinction which arrogated for a certain set of men all popular favor, whether in or out of place, and whatever was their conduct, had been so generally felt in the reign of George II., that those who wished to be honoured as Whigs were despised and hated as courtiers, and those whom the Whigs affected to depreciate as Tories and Jacobites, were backed by the great majority of the whole country, as being the party of the country, and the true friends of the people.*

If the real difference was not lost at the Revolution, it was abolished when Court and Country party became the usual words, and the Tories were so long obliged to talk in the Republican

* "As nothing can be more ridiculous than to preserve the
 "nominal division of Whig and Tory parties, which subsisted
 "before the Revolution, when the difference of principles,
 "that could alone make the distinction real, exists no longer;
 "so nothing can be more reasonable; than to admit the no-
 "minal division of Constitutionists and Anti-constitutionists,
 "or of a Court and Country party, at this time, when an
 "avowed difference of principles makes this distinction
 "real."—*Dissertation on Parties.*

style, that they seemed, says Mr. Hume, to have made converts of themselves by their hypocrisy.*

Those who composed the court party in the reign of the two first sovereigns of the house of Hanover, and who wished to be called Whigs, imagined that the corruption of which they were all but the inventors, and which they had organized with a fatal address, would secure their power, and keep the crown for ever in their hands. But the perfection of the machine rendered it easily transferable to other hands. It was not a bow that Ulysses alone could draw, a child could touch the trigger, and produce the mischief at once. His present majesty wisely considered, that the expedient of governing by a corrupt parliament could succeed in any hands. The new set of managers soon succeeded to all the power; and, of course, to all the unpopularity of those who had been so long predominant. The rejected families then began to court the people, as a means of intimidating the king, as they had before upheld the royal authority for the sake of overawing the people. They were in possession of advantages never before possessed by any opposition, for they carried over with

* See Essay IX. on the Parties of Great Britain.

Mr. Burke says it is *cant* to call Walpole the organizer of a system of corruption.—This *fine* writer tried to beat down all truth by abusive hard words—bring facts against him—and he would call it “obscure diligence.”

them a certain portion of borough-influence, which their long continuance in power had enabled them to mature, by means of court power, and at the same time attach to their own persons. From that moment this borough-influence was considered the right-arm of the opposition aristocracy, by which, and which alone it could be enabled to prevent the overweening preponderance of the crown in every parliament. The complaints of those called Tories, in fact, the country party, or landed interest, had been unremittingly, during the two last reigns, directed against parliamentary corruption. Several motions had they made for the restoration of annual parliaments, as the best means of diminishing the temptations to corruption. The proposition, in 1745, was lost only by thirty-two votes.* But the new opposition had not recourse to this expedient: they adopted the old indefinite cry against prerogative, and the power of the crown; and then, also, they began to attach, with more pertinacity than ever, the name of Whigs to themselves, and that of Tories to their triumphant opponents. They were so long debarred from all means of mischief, and the king's ministers proceeded with such alacrity and vigour in applying the engine of corruption, which they found ready made to their hands, towards battering down, one by one, all the popular bul-

* January 29. See Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 1057.

warks which had been left standing by their predecessors, that the nation began to forget their former misdeeds. The Rockingham Whigs were certainly admired and believed by the people. The opposers of the American war were undoubtedly backed by the people, who were not undeceived, except at the first opportunity, by which they could be undeceived, namely, the accession of the Whigs to power.

It is all in vain, my Lord, for your Edinburgh Reviewer to come with his excuses for the Fox and North coalition,* “when a minister
“who doubled the national debt, and dismem-
“bered the Empire, was instantly taken into
“the confidence of those who threatened to
“take his head.”† The great body of the nation, who witnessed that monstrous deed, passed a judgment upon it, from which there is no appeal. The indignation felt at that measure, attached itself to Mr. Fox and his friends, long after they had again become the advocates of popular rights. Some there are who will maintain, that the party held together for a few years; but it was disjointed, and, at the first shock, it fell asunder. Then was it that the nation heard of new Whigs and old Whigs; and, to the squabbles between the two, we owe the French war. The only time that their union

* See “The State of Parties,” *Edinburgh Review*, June, 1818.

† See Bishop Watson’s *Memoirs*, p. 255.

could be of advantage to the nation they chose to differ amongst themselves.* Mr. Fox felt, that the remnant which he had saved from Mr. Burke could not be called the Whig party. Indeed, he was willing that his friends should drop a denomination, claimed, perhaps with justice, by the followers of Burke, and the colleagues of Pitt, and he recommended them to have done with the “*idle distinctions of Whig and Tory.*”† Your Lordship confesses, that he and you, and all of you felt, that the said remnant could not form an administration of itself. The administration which it did help to form, so far from reorganizing the party, did, as your Lordship knows, dissolve the last ties which bound you together amongst yourselves; much more did it

* See “The Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs.”

† See his Speech on Reform of Parliament, May, 1797. Mr. Hobhouse quoted this speech on the hustings, which so angered the party, that Mr. Lambton was sent down to tell, that Lord Holland averred that Mr. Fox had never used the words: to this, Mr. Hobhouse replied, that the words were given in all reports of the speech, and that Lord Holland had told him, that Mr. Perry had reported the speech himself.—They are as follows, and are a *little unlikely* to have been foisted in by a reporter:—“We had conquered ourselves—“we had given a generous triumph to reason over prejudice, “we had given a death-blow to those miserable distinctions “of Whig and Tory, under which the warfare had been “maintained between pride and privilege, and through the “contention of our rival jealousies, the genuine rights of the “many had been gradually undermined and frittered away.”

dissolve whatever bond there might be which attached you to the nation. The odium affixed to that coalition, survived their short-lived power. They had no leader who could direct or dignify their measures. All their principles they had openly abandoned. As there had been nothing honourable in their rise, there was nothing dignified in their fall. The mere opposition to those in power could no longer deceive a people who had so often confided in vain, and whom the experience of yesterday left without hope for to-morrow. For several years we heard no more of the Whigs, except when a pitiful paragraph in their Chronicle strove to show, that the flambeau which once blazed, and was now extinct, in parliament, still flickered in the socket on a tavern-table, and cast a cheerless ray on the doleful countenances of some five or six forlorn followers of a name. The medley of men who occupied the opposition benches never, as I heard, were guilty of the absurdity of calling themselves Whigs. They seldom contrived even to vote together upon the most important points. Who knew or who cared for the principles of Mr. Ponsonby? Did he agree with Mr. Whitbread? Did Mr. Whitbread agree with Mr. Sheridan? And where was Mr. Sheridan too? What did the party for the last of those who reminded the nation, that the Whigs could once boast of genius, eloquence, and taste? Did not Messrs. Lambton, and Ferguson, and Bennet,

seem to form a little squadron apart from all? Could any one divine which way Mr. Brougham was likely to vote? Did the language of Lord Milton accord with that of Sir Samuel Romilly? Mr. Grattan too, did not he promote to the utmost the last war with France, which Lord Grey strained all his ability to prevent? Did all the Opposition oppose even the Indemnity Bill? How many of the Opposition countenanced the Duke of Bedford in supporting Mr. Hone? And you, my Lord, permit me to ask whether any party has counted upon your Lordship for these last years? And yet you now aid the feeble attempt to revive a nominal distinction, which belongs to nobody, which may, with equal justice, be applied to any body, which means any thing, every thing, and nothing.

I am at a loss to imagine, by what indiscretion it was, that the OUTS (for that is the nearest to a true generic title) thought it advisable to renew the word in their journal, and in their newspapers, when they were wise enough not to employ it at the last general election. I do not recollect, that Sir. S. Romilly was called a Whig by his friends during the canvass for Westminster. I am not aware that the opposition-banner was inscribed with the obsolete word in any of the contested counties or towns. But the unpopularity of the king's ministers, and an addition of a few votes, seem to have made some of the Outs think that it would be advisable to

try whether the People are not again to be ravished with the whistling of a name. Hence the Edinburgh Review with its learned and long passages that lead to nothing. Hence, all that the faithful Chronicle has proclaimed of the Whigs—the old Whigs—the Whigs of England. Hence also that bold and candid avowal of Mr. George Lamb, that he gloried in the name of Whig. And yet, strange must it appear, that not a single placard of the party ventured to invite the Electors to vote for a WHIG. No, they were told to vote for a friend of Sir Samuel Romilly—for a friend of the poor old glorious Revolution, again dragged from its repose—for the friend of short parliaments—for the friend of the poor man—but not a word about the Whigs. Mr. Hobhouse indeed, and Sir Francis Burdett, did their best to keep the merits of the Whigs as much in view, as the modesty of their opponents would allow: but the buff and blue were prudently kept out of the contest, in order to be more fresh for the triumph; and perhaps owing to the mistake made by the people at not recognising and rewarding their volunteer leaders and saviours at the last day of the election, we heard nothing even then of the victory of the Whigs. The returned candidate in his address of thanks, dropped the title in which he had gloried, and neither he nor the Chronicle, thought it prudent to boast that the Whigs had returned a member for Westminster. The fact was only a

day old, it was as well to wait a week before they gave birth to the fiction.

To our infinite surprise then, my Lord! and I fancy to the consternation of the party, your Lordship comes forward with a Defence of the Whigs. And you now wish to revive the fantastic obsolete name, which has not existed in its original sense for nearly a century and a half; which almost every sensible politician of all parties in that period, from Burnet* to Fox, has protested against as mischievous and absurd, and which you yourself cannot introduce without an uncalled-for admission, that it is exposed to ridicule and reproach. You begin, indeed, rather tamely at first with a Defence! A Defence! What a poor substitute for the song of victory which usually crowns the exploits of all election majorities.

And this is what you call "throwing in the bark after a fever;" Who has been sick?—Not the Reformers, they fondly fancy themselves in a state of florid health, which they have never enjoyed since they have at times been brought into the infectious company of certain pretended friends. Is it the Whigs who are sick?

* "The last of these had gone into all the steps that had been made for the King, with great zeal; and by that means was hated by the High Party, whom for distinction sake, I will hereafter call *TORIES*, and the others *WHIGS*, terms that I have spoken much against, and have ever hated."—*History*, &c. vol. iii. p. 5.

But come, my Lord, I am no Whig ;—I will be fair with you,—your Apothecary's simile means, that the people have been in a paroxysm, and that you their Physician have been watching, and have eagerly caught the first intermission of their furious disease. Your Lordship knows that sometimes patients will box their physician. We may “*urge*” you a little, but you shall have fair play.—You have then seen* “*with the utmost satisfaction from the result of the Westminster election, that the sound sense of the country, never lost, but at times overpowered, was beginning to return again.*” This sentence I take to imply two distinct propositions ; namely, that the state of the Representation in Westminster has for some years been such as to cause a belief that the sound sense of the country had been overpowered ; and, secondly, that the return of Mr. Lamb is a decided proof that this sound sense is recovering its former force and functions.

It is true that since the year 1807, the Electors of Westminster have given a practical support to an opinion very general throughout England, that nothing was to be hoped from any body of politicians, whether in or out of place, and that nothing could redeem the nation except the uninfluenced controul of the people over the management of their own affairs in the Com-

* Preface to 2nd Edition of Lord Erskine's Defence, &c.

mons House of Parliament. The Electors of Westminster had seen the latter opinion adopted by many of the leading politicians of their time; and they had seen it abandoned by those politicians: for, surely my Lord, you cannot have the hardihood to say that the *paramount* necessity* of Reform, is now, as it once was, the creed of any party small or great in Parliament. They believed that the principle which had been perhaps dropt, because adopted for the most part as a sort of party question, and not emanating from the people, would flourish when manifestly and solely proceeding from the people, and acknowledged universally to be the great national cause independent of all individual interests.—The first step towards their great design, was the reformation of their own representation. This they undertook under happier auspices than had attended their efforts when Mr. Tooke was the independent reform candidate. The monstrous coalition† between Fox, Grenville, and

* See the Whig Speeches in 1793, on Mr. Grey's Motion for referring the Petition of the Friends of the People to a Committee. Mr. Grey said, there could have been no American War, if there had been Reform. Mr. Erskine said, the French Revolution was owing to the want of Reform in the English Parliament, at which the Treasury-bench burst into a laugh.

† Lord Erskine's excuse for this coalition, is, that the Foxites went in to keep out worse men; if this is to be done with the sacrifice of every principle, they might as well have

Sidmouth, had opened the eyes of the whole nation, and at this juncture there appeared a man born for the time, the place, and the circumstances, and designated as it were by the very hand of nature, to be the representative and champion of a glorious cause.

Without the help or interference of a single individual of political power or eminence, the Electors completely succeeded in restoring, as far as depended upon them, the purity and purposes of Election, and returned by the unbiassed votes of the People, a true Representative of the People. It was making a mighty progress to show that the people not only were fully competent to the conduct of this important duty, but knew how to fulfil it without any of the base arts, without any of the outrage, it may be said, the carnage, which had in Whig and Tory days attended the depraved struggle between the rival factions.

The influence of the Electors and particularly the example of the Representative gained an

staid in to keep out worse men. His Lordship says, that all former differences between Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville had ceased to exist. Lord Grenville said in 1798, Jan. 9, that he voted for the assessed taxes as a sort of pledge *against* Reform of Parliament. Mr. Fox had said on the 4th of January, 1798, that he would never come into any administration of which a Radical Reform both of the Representation of the People in Parliament, &c. was not the basis. I never heard that Lord Grenville retracted, but either he or Mr. Fox must have sacrificed a principle on that point.

immediate proselyte in the person of him who had at first appeared under circumstances somewhat equivocal, and from that moment both the seats for Westminster were in the uncontested possession of the people. Thus the people of the metropolis, when left to themselves, and acting solely for the sake of advancing a principle, had without a single act for which an honest man need blush, peaceably, but firmly, and as it then appeared for ever, shaken off the trammels which had bound them for centuries to the court, and which the whole force of the Whig opposition, had never attempted to remove. For eleven years, they reaped the reward of their honest exertions, and in defiance of calumny, and of the desertion and mutability of others, continued unchanged themselves, still enforcing their great national doctrine, and still showing by their own example that the cause of reform and of public morality, are one and the same.

Your Lordship's Defence wisely says, that in Mr. Fox's time a Whig candidate, if not opposed by the court, would have walked over the course. But this is the very point. In those days, the court always did lay claim to one seat at least, and Mr. Fox's friends never could carry two opposition members.

The admiration, the love of the whole people of England, attached to Sir F. Burdett, and to him only, was sufficient proof that the nation at

large approved of the resolution by which the Electors of Westminster adhered to their first object of making their representation the rallying center of Reform.

But the gentlemen your Lordship calls Whigs, did not participate in the general satisfaction at seeing even two seats out of 658, filled solely by the wishes of the people, without hint, influence, or advice from any party. The pitiful figure they had made in attempting to return Mr. Sheridan, was still in their memory, but they still dared to haunt the places where their honour died. An unfortunate division amongst the Reformers at the general election in 1818, afforded an opportunity which they had scarcely hoped to obtain. A Requisition to Sir Samuel Romilly was got up, and carried about for subscription, I speak a fact, by a little Scotch Whig lawyer, and by the Editor of the Chronicle;—the latter was told, “If you start a Whig, you will have a Court candidate started.”—The answer was, “we can’t help it, we don’t care.”—Mr. Brougham down in Cumberland, compared the influence of the people in Westminster, to the influence of the Lowthers in Westmoreland, and talked with glee of the Whigs opening the *close borough* of Westminster.

The Court candidate, as foretold, was started, and as might have been foreseen, divided an immense number of votes with the *regular* or party opposition, against the irregular or popular oppo-

sition.—This help, and the great character of Sir Samuel Romilly, together with sundry breakfasts and little tricks, and the hatred of the Court, brought in the party candidate.*—Sir F. Burdett was again returned, and returned upon the same principles, and by the same means, as had secured his former elections for Westminster. The opponents of the people, but more particularly your Lordship's Whig friends, aye, your forty years' friend, Mr. Perry, declared openly, and circulated privately, that Sir F. Burdett had expended large sums to procure his election. IT WAS A GROSS AND MALICIOUS FALSEHOOD. The whole expenses have been stated to a fraction in the late Report of the Westminster Committee—the items of every farthing spent, may be inspected by every subscriber. I tell you, my

* One of the complaints against the Reformers then was, that they canvassed for single votes for Sir F. Burdett. It should be recollected, that Sir S. Romilly had very early divided nearly 2000 votes with Sir M. Maxwell; had the Reformers given the second votes of their 2000 plumpers to Sir S. Romilly, what would have been the consequence?—Sir F. Burdett would have been more than 2000 behind Sir S. Romilly on the close of the poll,—the Whigs would have cried out, “where is your Reform now? where is your Burdett?” and would have said, nay sworn, that they had forced their friends to divide their votes in order to help poor Sir Francis: as it was, all their efforts were directed to kidnapping the voters in the very Committee-room, of the Reformers, and as they were going to the poll, by every sort of trick and mean electioneering artifice.

Lord, without fear of contradiction, that if a single illegal or even immoral act can be proved against one of those concerned in promoting the return of Sir F. Burdett, the Westminster Electors will allow you to nominate the next candidate yourself. You cannot be so ignorant, so wilfully blind at this time as not to feel that Sir F. Burdett's election, was a truly popular and strictly constitutional election in every sense of the word. Ask any of your friends who canvassed on that occasion, ask them whether it was necessary to bribe or terrify any man into voting for Sir F. Burdett. Ask them whether they did not find it *expedient* in canvassing for Sir S. Romilly, to say they wished well to Sir F. Burdett.

Well, the same individuals, whose committee amounted to between three and four hundred of the most respectable inhabitants of Westminster, endeavoured to return Mr. Hobhouse on exactly the same principle as they had returned two members for the last twelve years; that is, not as the advocate of this or that particular *plan* of Reform, but as the advocate of the *paramount* necessity of reform, as opposed to all party principles and connexions whatever. This endeavor they made also by the same honourable unmixed efforts as had rescued their city from the terror and corruption of former elections. If the jackal of the party can hunt down and trace a single

unworthy act to the promoters of Mr. Hobhouse's election, let it be proclaimed at once.—But the party, backed as they are with what they call success, do not now pretend to renew the absurd calumnies of former elections.—The public indeed, have at last learnt that these gentlemen of the Aristocracy seldom charge the people with a crime with which their own practice has not made them already familiar.—The convicted bludgeon-hirers have taught the nation a lesson, and have themselves, perhaps, learnt circumspection.—Your Lordship cannot prove a single unconstitutional act or attempt in the whole career of the reform Electors of Westminster, from the first return of Sir F. Burdett in 1807, up to the present moment.—What then can you mean by asserting that they and their example have for a time *overpowered the good sense of the country?*

Is it to overpower the good sense of the country, to say that the *people* ought, and to show that the *people* can, elect their own representatives without being corrupted themselves or corrupting others: without being intimidated themselves or intimidating others: without aid or interference from any party? Is it to *overpower the good sense of the country*, constantly to impress the justice and necessity of giving to the rest of the community the same advantages of a free choice of representatives which the Electors of

Westminster have procured for themselves, and enjoy by the extensive right of suffrage established in their own city? Is it to *overpower the good sense of the country* to chuse such a man as Sir F. Burdett as the advocate of that justice and necessity? Is it to *overpower the good sense of the country* to attempt to send another man into Parliament who may fight the same battle by the side of that advocate?

I will tell your Lordship what you were thinking of, though you did not dare to say it openly.—Your Lordship was thinking that if the example of Westminster should be followed in all those counties or towns where the extension of suffrage allows of that kind of election called popular—that is to say, if the Electors throughout the kingdom, in all but the very rotten boroughs, should take their own elections into their own hands—should banish all bribery and influence, and even recommendation—should see with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, and should return to Parliament pure representatives of the interests and wishes of the third estate, of the Commons only—then your Lordship was thinking that a death-blow would be given to the power of the Aristocracy, which would henceforward be entirely confined to their own branch of the Legislature—and the House of Commons would become a Democratic assembly, not only virtually, but substantially

representing the people, and acting professedly and purely, according to the general injunctions and interests of the people.

I feel confident that it was an apprehension of this consequence which made your Lordship use those strange words, and yet I defy you to prove that the Constitution of this country designs the House of Commons to be any other than that which I have just mentioned. I know indeed that an ingenious young gentleman, Mr. John William Ward,* did once say, that it was never meant the House of Commons should be purely *democratical*—but you, my Lord, who know Greek as well as Mr. Ward, and who know law better, never can say that the House of Commons is not meant in its original institution, to be an epitome of the POWER OF THE PEOPLE or of the Democracy.—*Formally* it is so at this day; and some wise men go so far as to say that it is *virtually*. The Sovereign has not yet dropt the phrase, to *meet my people in Parliament*—He does not mean the *people* recommended to him by the house of Cavendish or the house of Manors—No—he means the people as directly distinguished from the heads and tails of these houses, who have their power in the other branch of the Legislature—he means the Democracy, and nothing else.†

* In his speech on Mr. Brand's motion in 1812.

† Mr. Burke said, "the peers do not interfere as peers,

I am perfectly well aware, that if the example only of the Electors of Westminster were to be followed throughout the country, even were there no change in the frame of the House of Commons, the representation would advance in no trifling degree towards its intended democratical character; in other words, the House would be more a Commons' House than it is at present.—Now it is impossible that your Lordship, as a Lawyer, as an Englishman, as one who still may feel some attachment to Parliamentary Reform, should really in your heart condemn a line of conduct that has no other than this truly *constitutional* tendency—for it is constitutional—you know it is.

I have been looking through your Pamphlet to help myself still farther to some glimmering of meaning in this your proposition concerning the *sound sense of the country* having been overpowered by the Electors of Westminster—I find therein the following phrases—"hot, undisciplined Reformers," "Libellers of Parliament," and lastly, "Revolutionists"—all which epithets I presume your Lordship would wish should be applied by others, for you do not directly apply

they interfere as men of property: but the fact of their being peers should prevent them from applying their property in that way, otherwise the Bill of Right talks nonsense, and when it says peers shall not interfere at elections, says nothing, and speaks of individuals who have no existence.

them yourself, to the Electors of Westminster, who have returned Sir F. Burdett.

Let us see—I must refer your Lordship to the “Reply” made to your pamphlet, by one of these hot, undisciplined electors, in order to convince you, that the *heat*, to which you object, is precisely that which once animated your Lordship’s Whigs. You cannot deny, that these gentlemen did once think REFORM the one thing needful, the PARAMOUNT necessity of the state. I could multiply quotation on quotation, but a reference to the Reply, and to the Declaration of the Friends of the people, will save my paper, and your Lordship’s time.

I feel not so much anxiety to show, that the Whigs have deserted the cause, as I do to plead for the permission for the people still to adhere to it.

I see that the Edinburgh Review, or the gentleman who had the credit of the article, Sir James Mackintosh, decides it to be very puerile to quote a man’s former opinions against himself. To be sure, Sir James may fairly endeavour to lay down that maxim which accords happily with the opinions of the HONEST MAN,* who

* See a pamphlet with this title, “A Letter to the Right Honourable William Pitt, on his Apostacy from the Cause of Parliamentary Reform, &c. &c., 1792,” signed an HONEST MAN, and attributed to Sir James Mackintosh. For mere curiosity’s sake, I beg to compare what is said in the Edin-

dealt out his plain sayings against Mr. Pitt, the Curio “ of the *black* annals of apostacy.” But Sir James can hardly say, that there is any thing puerile in a man’s defending his practices by referring to authority. If the authority to which I refer happens to be the Whigs of other days, I protest it is not out of malice; it is only for support. You think that you look better and

burgh Review, against the people becoming themselves Reformers without their natural leaders, and against adopting moderate Reform, whilst wild reformers are on foot, with the following declamation of the HONEST MAN.

“ Despairing that a corrupt body should spontaneously reform itself, you (Mr. Pitt) invited the interposition of the People. You knew that dispersed effort must be unavailing. You therefore encouraged them to associate. You were not deterred from appealing to the People by such miserable common places of reproach, as those of advertising for grievances, diffusing discontents, and provoking sedition. You well knew that in the vocabulary of corrupt power inquiry is sedition, and tranquillity is synonymous with blind and abject obedience. You were not deterred from joining with the associations of the people, by being told they were to overawe parliament. You knew the value of a jargon that does not deserve to be dignified by so high a name as sophistry. You felt for it that contempt which every man of sense *always* feels, and which every man of sincerity will *always* express. They told you that extravagant speculations were abroad; that it was no moment to hope for the accomplishment of temperate reform when there were so many men of mischievous and visionary principles, whom your attempts would embolden, and whom your reforms would not content.”

are more active without your tail; all I ask is to be allowed to keep mine, and to refer to the handsome figure which your Lordship made before you tumbled into the trap.

I say, that the *heat* of the Westminster Reformers is not a line higher than that of the former Whig-Reformers. Those whom you defend were mortally offended at Mr. Fox being called a RADICAL Reformer, and being said to have called himself a Radical Reformer. Mr. Lambton was forthwith dispatched to say, that he had Lord Grey's authority for asserting, that Mr. Fox never called himself a Radical Parliamentary Reformer, but declared himself for a *radical change of system*. Whereupon the people at the hustings, who did not understand shuffling, called out, "It is all the same." Mr. Hobhouse quoted Mr. Fox's own words;* he

* 'I think the words I used were these, "that a Radical Reform, both of the representation of the people in parliament, and of the abuses that have crept into the practice of the constitution of this country, together with a complete and fundamental change of system of administration, must take place, and that until it did I for one would take no share in any administration, or be responsible in any office in his majesty's councils."—I think these were my words, I am sure they were the substance of what I said; was there any explanation necessary?'—*Mr. Fox's Speech, Commons' Debates, Jan. 4, 1798.*

'He (Mr. Fox) had already declared, he would not come in (to administration) without a total, fundamental, and ra-

quoted the words of those who charged Mr. Fox with the very invention of the term "radical;" he might have quoted the ballads of the day.* Mr. Fox himself, however, has settled the question as to *the radical change of system*; and that he has done so explicitly that I trust we shall hear no more of this poor distinction. These are his words:—"As long as I stated the necessity of reforming abuses in general; while I said there must be 'a change of measures,' 'a radical change of system,' there was no alarm taken; but when I came to specify 'a *Parliamentary Reform*,' then every thing I said became dangerous and alarming: my words became *then* ambiguous and mystical."† One would think that he had spoken them prophetically, to furnish an unquestionable proof that his *reform* was a *parliamentary* reform, and to prevent the silly in-

dical Reform of Parliament; and he (Mr. Perceval) begged the house to attend to those most chosen, dangerous, and alarming words.—*Mr. Perceval's Speech, ibid.*

"The expression he (Mr. Fox) employed, and which has become more conspicuous from its being made the subject of particular thanks in certain resolutions lately advertised, was that he would take no share in any administration without a Radical Reform in the representation, and of the abuses of the present system. Such was the expression of my right honourable friend."—*Mr. Sheridan's Speech, ibid.*

* "At the Shakespeare Tavern dining."—*See Antijacobin.*

† See Mr. Fox's speech, *ibid.*

terpretations of any injudicious defender. We must have no more denials by *authority*. It is, indeed, a very fine thing to be a lord; but the whole house protesting upon oath should not avail against written records never disputed *before*, and manifestly disputed *now* in order to serve a turn. In the debate of Dec. 3, 1795, Mr. Fox says that he had never hoped much from Reform, although he had always voted for it; but on January 4, 1798, he confesses he had changed his opinion, and then thought parliamentary Reform indispensable. If, after this, any man tells me that Mr. Fox confessed to him that he was *not* a parliamentary Reformer, I shall not attempt to argue, I shall say that Mr. Fox told me he *was* a parliamentary Reformer. A false bond is best answered by a false quit-tance—or I will point to the parliamentary debates as Bishop Watson did to the Scriptures, “*En codicem sacrum!*” and a sacred code they are, if, as your Lordship says; they *fully and faithfully record the virtues and talents of the Whigs*.*

I should be glad to ask your Lordship whether the *alarmists*, the third part of the Whig heaven whom Mr. Burke dragged down with him, whether they did not think the Whig Reformers as *hot* as you think the Westminster Reformers. As far as the PARAMOUNT URGENCY of Reform is concerned, all the speeches of the Whig

* Defence, p. 7.

Reformers are quite as decisive as any thing said in these days at the Crown and Anchor. We want no other proof of this than Mr. Grey's stirring up the people, in 1794, *to meet in bodies* and intimidate the House of Commons by *acting upon its prudence*.*

If the *heat* be proved by the *plan* of Reform, I say that the declaration made by Mr. Hobhouse is neither more nor less than the declaration made by the *friends* of the people in 1795, those very friends of the people whose petition was presented to parliament in 1793, by Lord Grey and by yourself, and who were notoriously identified with the Foxites in parliament.†

The Society declared for equality and impartiality of suffrage, and for a new division of the country; Mr. Hobhouse declared for equality and uniformity of suffrage, implying, of course, a new division of the country. The Society said, the electors should be as numerous as possible; Mr. Hobhouse declared for the largest extension of suffrage possible. The Society declared that the elections might be “*triennial, biennial, or even ANNUAL*,”† as they were in

* See Letter to the Duke of Portland.

† The alarm against annual parliaments is quite new. That moderate Reformer, Mr. C. Wyvill, was for annual parliaments, and yet headed the largest of all the many associations of the *Whig* gentry for parliamentary Reform. Mr. Alderman Sawbridge, who made what was called his annual

former times." Mr. Hobhouse declared that elections might be every twenty-four months, or every twelve months. The Society said "that the whole measure must move together, and act at once with all its force;" in other words, they recommended a *radical* not a *gradual* Reform; Mr. Hobhouse declared himself a radical and not a *gradual* Reformer, saying at the same time, as Sir F. Burdett said, that he could be happy to accept any Reform from others, although he should propose none but a radical Reform himself; and this, by the way, was a more moderate avowal than any made by your Lordship's Society, who more than hint they would have the whole Reform or none.

Those of the Westminster Reformers who have declared for annual parliaments, and what is called universal suffrage, have declared only for the principle to be found in the opinion of the same Society, when they said that they "admit the general right of voting at elections to be COMMON and PERSONAL." But that the great majority of Westminster Reformers never did suppose actual extension of suffrage to every individual to be *indispensable*, is decidedly proved by their selection and support of Mr. Hobhouse, who positively declared the extension of suffrage

motion for shortening the duration of parliaments, said that he preferred annual parliaments, and he was supported on one occasion by 83 members; this was in 1772.

to be, in his opinion, of third-rate importance. The truth is, that the Westminster Reformers have always been *comparatively* indifferent to the *plan*, their preaching and their practice have been directed to inculcate the PARAMOUNT importance of Reform. It has always been a consolation and an apparent guarantee to them, when they have found a man inclined to declare for the most decisive and direct Reform; and very naturally so; because the Whigs, (who, as I have just shewn, by the voice of their Society, once were of the same opinion as the Westminster Reformers,*) now affect to call themselves *moderate* Reformers; and therefore make it necessary that those who are not to be suspected of being changeable as the Whigs, should show that their opinions are upon that subject more decisive than those of the Whigs. A declaration in favor of the principle of annual parliaments and universal suffrage in the eyes of the Westminster

* It is well known that Mr. Fox, who was against universal suffrage, still said publicly in parliament, and that too when he was Secretary of State, that on the whole he thought the best man to be entrusted with framing a project of Reform was the Duke of Richmond. Now the Duke of Richmond was the very apostle of universal suffrage.

See Speech of Mr. Fox on Mr. Pitt's motion for Reform in 1782, also Mr. Grey said " he did not approve of the " Duke of Richmond's plan of Reform, though he thought " it better than the present system."—*Parliamentary Debates*, May 6, 1793.

Reformers, cannot but be a recommendation, in as much as it is a presumptive evidence that the candidate is not to be classed with the Whig pretenders to moderate Reform ; hence the attention of the electors was directed to Mr. Kinnaird : but the Westminster Reformers never did regard such a declaration as indispensable ; they never were for annual parliaments and universal suffrage in the pure, bigotted, exclusive sense of the phrase ; they never quarrelled with any one as the author of a celebrated pamphlet did with the French for putting any limit to their right of suffrage. If such had been their view of the question, they would not have left Major Cartwright with 38 votes, nor have given nearly four thousand votes to Mr. Hobhouse.

There is, in short, nothing more *hot* in their *plan* than there was in the Whig plan of Reform ; any more than there is any thing more *hot* in their *importunity* than there was in that of the Whigs. They contend only for what the Whigs once contended, the PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE OF REFORM.

So much for the *heat* of the Westminster Reformers ; now comes your Lordship's other epithet, *undisciplined*.

Your Lordship, in another place, has shown your fears of *organized* detractors. These detractors are, of course, the Westminster Reformers, who, it seems, have *discipline* enough

to do harm, although they have not discipline enough to do good. They are under some organization, you confess, and under some discipline or teaching, or rule of conduct; but then this organization is their own; this discipline they have derived from themselves; this rule of conduct has been self-taught. The rub is, that the Westminster Reformers *are* disciplined, but are *not* disciplined by the Whigs: they *are* disciples; they *are* followers; but then it is of a system taught by their own convictions; and they are *not* disciples, they are *not* followers of the Whigs. Your forty years' friend, Mr. Perry, in his Chronicle, the other day, attributed in part the large minority in favor of Mr. Hobhouse to the *discipline* of the Westminster Reformers. That was his word. I am no Whig—I misquote nobody wilfully.

If, by want of discipline you mean want of instruction, I have already shown you that the Westminster Reformers have adopted the same notions as to Reform, as were professed formerly by the Whig *Friends of the People*. I may fairly add, that if those friends had adhered to that notion, the Reformers would have been happy to have been indebted to them for their instruction.

Your Lordship, however, does certainly object to the Westminster Reformers nothing else than that they are not under the discipline of your Whig

friends. Thus it is the people must be led, and the Whigs kindly undertake for guides. In vain the people say, "we were, if you please, taught to walk by you when we were as yet young in the ways of Reform, but you would walk with us no longer; you got upon your high horse, and rode away; we have heard no more of you for many years. Now you come back, having been thrown by your nags, you want something to do, and offer to help us again, but we have grown up in the interval. Go our way, if you like, we will thank you for your company; but as for your leading strings! excuse us! we can walk alone."

I now come to the Westminster Reformers as "Libellers of Parliament." The libel to which your Lordship alludes seems to be not only the libel which speaks *falsely*, but the libel which breaks the King's peace by speaking the truth. We must consider them together. The Reformers have, I will allow, taken every occasion to insist upon the notorious corruption of the House of Commons, and upon the melancholy truth, that, constituted as it is, no good whatever is to be expected from the House of Commons. As to the first part of the proposition, it is what was insisted upon for many years by your Lordship's Whigs, and it has been insisted upon by many statesmen at previous periods of our history. I pass over the perpetual complaints of

the Country party in the first years of the accession of the House of Hanover. But let me direct your attention to what was said and done by those who called themselves *Patriots*, and who were called *disaffected Whigs* by the friends of the minister, Walpole. These gentlemen endeavoured to bring the House of Commons into contempt, not only by words, but by deeds : they seceded from their duties : a scheme which the Tories had before tried for the same express object, and which the Whigs have since tried twice ; once in Lord Rockingham's time, in 1777, and again under Mr. Fox. The language with which they were reproached, is a complete counterpart of that now levelled against the Westminster Reformers. Sir Robert Walpole, in his famous speech on the 13th of February, 1741, after complimenting the Tory, or what we should call perhaps the *regular old* opposition, then struck out against the Patriots :

“ Can it,” said he, “ be fitting in them (the
 “ Tories) who have divided the public opinion
 “ of the nation, to share it with those who now
 “ appear as their competitors ? with the men
 “ of yesterday, the boys in politics, who would
 “ be absolutely contemptible did not their auda-
 “ city render them detestable ? with the mock
 “ patriots, whose practice and professions prove
 “ their selfishness and malignity ; who threatened
 “ to pursue me to destruction, and who have

“ never for a moment lost sight of their object?
 “ These men, under the name of Separatists, pre-
 “ sume to call themselves, exclusively, the *nation*
 “ and the *people*, and under that character assume
 “ all power. In their estimation, the King, Lords,
 “ and Commons, are a *faction*, and *they* are the
 “ government. Upon these principles, they
 “ threaten the destruction of all authority, and
 “ think they have a right to judge, direct, and
 “ resist, all legal magistrates. They withdraw
 “ from Parliament because they succeed in
 “ nothing, and then attribute their want of suc-
 “ cess not to its true cause, their own want of
 “ integrity and importance, but to the effects of
 “ places, pensions, and corruption.” *

Read this, my Lord! and tell me whether
 you might not fancy yourself perusing a Fox
 Club Speech against the “ men of yesterday,”
 the “ mock patriots, audacious, contemptible,
 detestable Separatists,” who “ presume to call
 themselves the nation, the people, and to call
 King, Lords, and Commons, a faction :” against
 those “ who revile the Parliament, because they
 can succeed in none of their attempts in Parlia-
 ment ; ” and who, having neither “ integrity nor
 importance,” attribute their want of success to
 the effect of “ places, pensions, and corruption.”

And yet the name of Lord Chatham is to be
 found amongst those very abandoned characters,

* Coxe's Walpole, Chap. 56.

and it must be some consolation to the Westminster Reformers to find themselves charged with no more than was laid at the door of that illustrious statesman, who, indeed, for the remainder of his career, seems to have been in nowise afraid of speaking openly of the *Corruption* of the House of Commons, and at the latter part of his life made a motion to dissolve the said Assembly, which in one speech he called “a corrupt House of Commons which inverted all law and order,”* saying with Shakspeare,

Fie on it! oh, fie!

’Tis an unweeded garden, things

Rank and gross in nature possess it merely.

and in another affirmed, that “the people had no confidence in the present House of Commons, who had betrayed their trust,”† and showed the necessity of having a Parliament in whom the people could place a proper confidence. On another occasion,‡ he called the Parliament a “*Mob* :” certainly this is libelling Parliament in the same sense in which you would charge the Westminster Reformers with libelling Parliament.

“Lord Chatham,” said your Lordship in the Pamphlet on the French War, “had detected
“and exposed the rank corruption of the House

* See Lord Chatham’s Speech on the 1st of May, 1770.
See also the Lords’ Protest.

† See his Speech on May 14, 1770.

‡ See his Speech, April 30, 1771.

“ of Commons, as the sole cause of that fatal
 “ quarrel (the American war), and left it as a
 “ legacy to his son to avenge and correct it ;”
 —you added afterwards, “ *Libels on Parliament at*
 “ *that time, as since, were written ; but Mr. Pitt’s*
 “ *were unquestionably the strongest and the best.*”*
 We may see then what you mean by *libel*, although
 we can, indeed, discern that you thought differently
 of the good strong libels written by Mr.
 Pitt, and the good strong libels of the Westminster
 Reformers.

As I have mentioned Lord Chatham’s name,
 your Lordship will permit me to quote the
 authority of your brother, for saying, that not
 only did that Whig statesman libel, that is,
 speak disagreeable truths of the House of Commons,
 or to use your phrase “ indecently animadvert
 upon its character and conduct,” but he had formed
 just the same notion of the true remedy for corruption,
 as the Westminster Reformers, he looked to the *Autocracy*,† (a word

* See “ A View of the Causes and Consequences of the present War with France,” pp. 7 and 8.

† Lord Buchan, in his character of Thomson the Poet, has these words—“ A free constitution of government, or what I would beg leave to call the *Autocracy* of the people, is the panacea of moral diseases ;

“ Eighteen years after Thomson’s death, the late Lord Chatham agreed with me in making this remark ; and when I said, ‘ But, Sir ! what will become of poor old England, ‘ that doats on the imperfections of her pretended constitu-

happily invented by Lord Buchan) of the people, to their spontaneous, uninfluenced exercise of their own power, as the panacea for all moral diseases in the government. He was indeed in one sense of the word, what we should call only a moderate Reformer, but he was not a moderate Reformer in the present application of that epithet to the Whigs. He was *sincere*, and instead of frightening himself as he grew older, he became more decisive; and having boldly at one time declared he had not made up his mind to shorten the duration of parliaments, he* as frankly avowed afterwards, that he was a convert to that species of Reform as *part* of the means of diminishing the corruption which had brought the *Summa Rerum* to stake.†

When we come to your Lordship's Whigs, we

'tion?' he replied, 'My dear Lord, the gout will dispose of me soon enough to prevent me from feeling the consequences of this infatuation. But before the end of this century, either the Parliament will reform itself from within, or be reformed with a vengeance from without.'——" Pythonic speech, SPEEDILY to be verified."

Delightful dialogue! which the Earl of Buchan made public either to claim some share of Pythonic praise, or to help me to an argument against his brother.—The *infatuated doting on the imperfections of our pretended constitution*, is worth any money, and will be recollected by and by.

* See his Answer to the City Address, May 14, 1770.

† See his Speech, April 30, 1771. Life of the Earl of Chatham, vol. ii. chap. xl.

find repeated libels on the House of Commons. In the Speech before quoted, Mr. Fox said, “ we have now indeed, a form of government, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons’ House of Parliament ; but not a government consisting of King, Lords, and the Commons, Representatives of the People of Great Britain.—*It is a Government in which the power of the People is nothing.*”*

Mr. Grey said on the occasion, before referred to, that he expected no Reform whatever from the House of Commons, and that Reform must

* Speech, Commons’ Debate, 4th January, 1798.

“ Mr. Fox, in a speech of several hours,” says Mr. Burke, “ urged the referring to a committee the *libellous impeachment of the House of Commons, by the Association of the Friends of the People* ;” Mr. Burke adds, that Mr. Fox’s purpose was, “ to discredit Parliament *as it stands* ; to countenance leagues, covenants, and associations for its further discredit ; to render it perfectly odious and contemptible.” He goes on, “ Mr. Fox and these gentlemen have for the present been defeated ; but they are neither converted nor disheartened. They have solemnly declared, that they will persevere until they have attained their ends ; persisting to assert, that the House of Commons not only is not a true Representation of the People ; but that it does not answer the purpose of such Representation. Most of them insist that all the debts, the taxes, and the burthens of all kinds on the people, with every other evil and inconvenience which we have suffered since the Revolution, have been owing solely to a House of Commons which does not speak the sense of the people.”—*See Letter to the Duke of Portland, Articles 43, 44.*

come from the people by perpetually meeting in bodies. Add to this, that the secession of the Whig leaders in 1797 was notoriously for the purpose of diminishing the authority of the House, and to operate upon that House by means of the public, who were to be convinced by the secession, that Mr. Fox and his friends thought no good was to be obtained by attending a House so constituted.—“ But you stay away because you know you cannot obtain a Parliamentary Reform, Aye? But you do not expect to be able to persuade the House of Commons to commence this work.” —“ Why no, not by my speeches certainly ;” “ and yet I think they may be persuaded.” —“ How ?” —“ By the public.”*—These are Mr. Fox’s own words.

In the same speech, in which that leader owned he staid away, as a measure which might perhaps produce Parliamentary Reform, he informs us, that he was called *factious* for so doing. Mr. Fox at that day used the very language to which the present representative for Westminster must feel himself obliged to have recourse. “ I can,” said Mr. Fox, “ please my adversaries in no way. They say there is mischief in my staying away, and they accuse me of mischief in my speeches. They are neither pleased with my presence nor my absence.”

* Fox’s Speech, 4th Jan. 1798.

But in truth, all the speeches that Sir F. Burdett could ever make—or all the resolutions of Westminster Reformers, cannot be half so decided an effort to bring the House of Commons into disrepute, as the secession of the great Whig leader and the great body of his friends in 1797. They are the very Spartans of the comparison—what we have *said* they have *done*—when it is clear, “that a national deliverance can only be effected by a just and constitutional interference of the people, under these circumstances there is an actual necessity for their interposition; which will, and which alone can justify an appeal to the people by secession.”—So said a Whig Reformer.*

Having shown how much countenance the “hot undisciplined Reformers,” “libellers of Parliament,” now in Westminster, may derive from good authority—good Whig authority; I now come to the charge of our being *Revolutionists*.—The harder the words used against us, the better are we pleased—for the less they will be thought to apply.—Your Lordship has endeavoured to fix upon the body of the Reformers that reproach which the Whig who seconded Mr. Lamb threw out against Mr. Hobhouse.—Mr. Evans supported his charge by telling a downright falsehood—forgive the word—your

* See—The Secession from Parliament Vindicated, by the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, 1799.

Lordship has nothing to do with the person who told it—he hinted that Mr. Hobhouse was a friend of the French, and said he had called the Victory of Waterloo the “Carnage of Mont St. Jean.” Mr. Hobhouse showed that the expression, though a simple fact, had never been used by him, but had been used by another person; and he also stated that he was surprised at such a charge of Revolutionary principles coming from Whigs—who were always talking of the Revolution—whose whole merits were confined to their share in the Revolution—and who had no other rag to cover their nakedness.—Mr. Hobhouse might have added, that the Whigs had borrowed a poor stale device from their former opponents.—Hear Mr. Fox,—“I cannot,” said he, “state any thing in this house in favor of a Parliamentary Reform, without his telling me I afford encouragement to the French.”* When Mr. Evans had been obliged to retire in consequence of the general indignation expressed at his falsehood, Mr. Lamb supplied his loss by still continuing the “Revolutionary” charges against his opponent: but what might be pardoned to the pitiable situation of a candidate who was bound by advertisement to find something to object to in the principles of Mr. Hobhouse, is not so excusable in your Lordship, especially when you extend this intended re-

* Parliamentary Debates, as above.

proach to a large body of your fellow countrymen.—It is really disgraceful for a man like Lord Erskine to chime in with the common abuse levelled against the Reformers by the wretched hirelings of the courtly press.—You know that a certain portion of the political actors, and talkers, and writers in this country, have, at every period since the Revolution, been constantly charged with being *Revolutionists*—you 'well recollect the time when yourself and your friends were the *Jacobins*, the *Levellers*, the *Revolutionists* of the day, terms now applied by Mr. Perry to his Westminster fellow-citizens.—You should be aware that the application of such epithets is become ridiculous and unpardonable, except when proceeding from some regular Court organ, whose folly is official.

Your Lordship must have been shouting by the side of Mr. Sheridan when he said, “*We are friends to Reform ;*” a phrase which, it seems, is henceforth to be deemed synonymous with *Revolution*.* The miserable alarmist who wrote the Pursuits of Literature, in his strictures on the Radical Reform of Mr. Fox, found a Greek passage directly to his purpose, and charging the Whig leader with wishing entirely to subvert the State.†—Was it not Edmund Burke who exhibited fifty-four articles of impeachment against

* Speech, Jan. 4, 1798.

† Dialogue IV.

the Right Honourable Charles James Fox? * and did not Edmund Burke make it one of his articles of impeachment, that at the first meeting of the “Friends of the Liberty of the Press,” Mr. Erskine *took the lead* in the name and authority of Mr. Fox, and *had thanks for his defence of Paine, which amounted to a complete avowal of that Jacobin incendiary.* †

The whole of the latter charges against Mr. Fox in that famous Letter, tend to prove that Mr. Fox and his fifty friends having supported the *scandalous charges and indefinite projects of this infamous libel from the friends of the people,* ‡ *having by every art kept alive a spirit of disaffection against the very Constitution of the kingdom,* || *and attributed all the public misfortunes to that Constitution, it was absolutely IMPOSSIBLE but that some moment must arrive in which they would be enabled to produce a pretended Reform and a real Revolution.* In fact Mr. Fox did say that popular resistance to the House of Commons was a question of prudence.—“With respect to the doctrine, he expressly declared, that in his opinion, not only the King may incite the people to resistance—that not only the Lords

* See the Title—“A Letter from the Right Hon. Edmund Burke to His Grace the Duke of Portland, on the Conduct of the Ministry in Parliament; containing fifty-four Articles of Impeachment against the Right Hon. C. J. Fox.”

† See Article 14.

‡ Article 45.

|| Article 46.

“ may incite the people to resistance—that not
 “ only the House of Commons may excite the
 “ people to resistance—but that the measures of
 “ the three branches of the legislature may jus-
 “ tify the people in resisting the government.”*

Oh, my Lord! we have consolation upon consolation, as far as it can be derived from authority.—We are not to be frightened with words that break no bones—we have not been called Revolutionists half so often as Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Grey, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Francis, Mr. Taylor, and, though last, not least in the list of those who have despised the shame of calumny, the Honourable Thomas Erskine.—What said the HONEST MAN, the popular Whig of ninety-two?—
 “ Against the prevalence of both extremes (Re-
 “ publicanism and Toryism) there only exists
 “ one remedy:—it is to invigorate the Demo-
 “ cratic part of the Constitution; it is to render
 “ the House of Commons so honestly and sub-
 “ stantially the representative of the people, that
 “ Republicans may no longer have topics of
 “ invective, nor ministers the means of cor-
 “ ruption.”† Think a moment, and you will see the extreme injustice, nay, more, the extreme absurdity of fastening the epithet Revolutionist upon those against whom no other

* See Parliamentary Debate, Dec. 3, 1795.

† Letter to Mr. Pitt, &c. p. 33.

crime can be charged, than the unwearied agitation of what you call a hopeless question.— This may be as your Lordship says it is, and says it in capital letters, FOLLY; but it is surely a little too hard to threaten such folly not only with the critic, but with Jack Ketch. However, I thank you for the warning, for, believe me, I am much of Dryden's way of thinking:—

“ To die for treason is a common evil,

“ But to be hang'd for nonsense is the devil.”

Until, however, you convince me, that there is any penal statute against this agitation, I shall persevere; and shall take the liberty to think, that the question is not altogether so hopeless as you seem to imagine. For, the cause is now in the right hands. It is in the hands of those whom it most concerns. It is in the hands of those who never can have any wish or interest to abandon it. Any separate body of politicians may have other subjects to divide their attention; but, with the people, the restoration of the due control of the people must, necessarily, be the sole object of all their endeavours. It is not the weapon of a few; it is the aim of all. And if your Lordship magnanimously proclaimed, that you would stick by “ the weather-beaten remnants of the wreck* of the Whigs of

* See “ A View of the Causes and Consequences of the present French War.”

England," you can hardly quarrel with those who, to the last, adhere to the people of England, however hopeless may be the struggle, however prudent may be the retreat.

Before I drop this part of the subject, I mean the *revolutionary* charge, I must be allowed to say, that your Lordship does not act fairly in mixing up the Westminster and other radical Reformers with those who were driven to excesses by the distress of the times. You must surely be aware, that the manufacturers did not rise in order to obtain Parliamentary Reform, and that the discouragement given by the Westminster Reformers, and by Sir E. Burdett to the proceedings of the actors at Spa-fields and elsewhere, has been made a matter of charge against them by Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Hunt, individuals whose authority must now have some weight with your Lordship's Whigs, since your forty-years friend, Mr. Perry, borrows a leaf from the one to revile his Westminster fellow-citizens; and the Whig candidate stood on the same board with the other at the late election.

But here again I cannot resist the temptation to refer to sound opinions, respecting the proceedings of such petitioners for Reform as may have acted with less caution than was expedient. In your present pamphlet you tell us, that the bolder Reformers, in contradistinction to the Whigs, "appointed delegates in all parts

“ of the kingdom, and organized a general
 “ system of correspondence, in terms so *criminally* and *dangerously* licentious, that their
 “ papers were seized by (Mr. Pitt’s) govern-
 “ ment, and a few amongst them, selected as
 “ their leaders, were taken into custody by war-
 “ rants from the secretary of state.”* Your Lordship then proceeds to state the merits of the Whigs in stepping forward to defend those who had drawn themselves into this dilemma, and had awakened the just vengeance of government.

In the first place, I find that when you wrote of the proceedings of the government just after they had occurred, you did not call the bolder Reformers “*criminally and dangerously licentious* ;” no, you have this phrase, “ *the honest, but irregular zeal of some societies, instituted for the Reform of Parliament, furnished a seasonable, but a contemptible pretext* ”† for the arrogant interference of government against French politics. But here comes the strangest part of the reference, by which we see, that so far from the government having been incited by this honest and irregular zeal of the bolder Reformers, it was the Whig Reformers, and Mr. Grey at the head of them, that gave the first alarm and excuse to the ministers. Your Lordship’s words are clear

* Defence, &c. pp. 10, 11.

† “ View of the Causes and Consequences,” &c. pp. 11 and 12.

as crystal; you say, “ These irregularities and
 “ excesses were, for a considerable length of
 “ time, wholly overlooked by the government.
 “ Mr. Paine’s works had been extensively and
 “ industriously circulated throughout England
 “ and Scotland: the correspondencies, which
 “ above a year afterwards became the subject of
 “ the state trials, had been printed in every
 “ newspaper, and sold without question or in-
 “ terruption in every shop in the kingdom;
 “ when a circumstance took place, not calcu-
 “ lated, one would imagine, to have occasioned
 “ any additional alarm to the country, but
 “ which (mixed with the effects on the public,
 “ from Mr. Burke’s first celebrated publication
 “ on the French Revolution) seems to have
 “ given rise to the king’s proclamation, the first
 “ act of government regarding France and her
 “ affairs. . . . A few gentlemen, not
 “ above fifty in number, and consisting princi-
 “ pally of persons of rank, talents, and charac-
 “ ter, formed themselves into a society, under
 “ the name of ‘ The Friends of the People.’ ”
 You then proceed to state the legal object of
 the society, a Reform in Parliament: and after-
 wards go on—

“ Nevertheless, on the very day that Mr.
 “ Grey, at the desire of this small society, gave
 “ notice of his intended motion in the House of
 “ Commons, there was an instantaneous mur-

“mur amongst ministers, as if a great national
 “conspiracy had been discovered. No act of
 “government appeared to have been in agitation
 “before that period, although the correspon-
 “dencies before alluded to had, for months,
 “been public and notorious, and there was
 “scarcely an information, even for a libel, upon
 “the file of the court of King’s Bench. Never-
 “theless, a council was almost immediately held,
 “and his majesty was advised to issue his royal
 “proclamation of the 21st of May, 1792, to
 “rouse the vigilance and attention of the ma-
 “gistrates throughout the kingdom, to the vi-
 “gorous discharge of their duties.”*

Thus, my Lord, it was *not* the Reformers of
 the corresponding and constitutional societies,
 that brought the alarm upon the nation, and
 the vengeance of the crown upon themselves;
 it was Mr. Grey and his fifty Whig persons of
 rank, talent, and character, that caused the
 explosion. And you now come to take merit
 for yourself and for your Whigs, because you
 defended the above Reformers, who, according
 to your own account, written just afterwards,
 would probably never have been attacked but for
 yourselves. I have, however, nothing to do at
 this moment with the merits of the Whigs. I
 only wish to prove, that those who adopt popu-

* “A View,” &c. pp. 12, 13, 14.

lar politics, and particularly Reform politics, always have been called Revolutionists, and that your Whigs were called and thought so more than any others. Aye, were thought more dangerous than the *bolder* Reformers. And I have proved it.

It is, besides, hardly decent in your Lordship to say, that you *gave up your lucrative business* to defend the Reformers.* Let me ask you, did not that defence make your business more lucrative?

I think, there is now little need of entering farther on the subject of the *heat or want of discipline*, or of the *Revolutionary* character of the Westminster Reformers. And I fancy, therefore, that I have said enough respecting the first proposition, contained in your simile of the bark and the fever, namely, that, owing to the Westminster Reformers, the sound *sense of the country* has been for a time overpowered.

I now come to the second proposition, namely, that the result of the Westminster Election shows, that the “sound sense of the country is beginning to return again.”

If I have been at all successful in showing, that a person, calling himself a Whig and a Reformer, and, more than all Whigs and Reformers, Lord Erskine, has no possible pretext for saying,

* Page 11 of the Defence.

that the Westminster Reformers are mad, and have made the country mad, I shall then have the less difficulty in proving, that the same person has still less pretext for proclaiming the result of the Westminster election as a symptom of returning sanity.

Your Lordship, indeed, has not confined the assertion to a simile, for you actually declare, that the rejection of Mr. Hobhouse, and the return of Mr. Lamb, “ if turned to a proper
“ account, by persons of all parties and opi-
“ nions, may be considered as one of the most
“ favourable events, for securing the tranquil-
“ lity, and advancing the prosperity of the
“ country, that has occurred since the consti-
“ tution was renovated and consecrated by the
“ Revolution.”

I dare say, that neither of the candidates thought they were contributing to so magnificent an exploit; and I feel persuaded, that Mr. Hobhouse, if he has the least spark of patriotism, will think the loss of a seat in the House of Commons a mere trifle in comparison with having played even the unsuccessful part in so awfully important a drama. That he should have sealed with his blood, though rather with the spirit of a combatant than a martyr, a third charter of British freedom, cannot but be consolatory to such of his friends as may lament the fatal error in his choice of a side.

But, seriously, my Lord, can you be acquainted with a single circumstance relative to the Westminster election, when you hail the result of it as an event so auspicious?

If the defeat of Mr. Hobhouse be so truly a subject of congratulation, the objection must lie either against that gentleman, or against the principles of which he is supposed to be the representative. As to the first, perhaps, it may be a sufficient answer to say, that the Whigs themselves professed from the hustings, that it was not their original intention to oppose Mr. Hobhouse; nor am I aware that (squibbing apart) any of the party, during the whole contest, pretended to state a single objection to that gentleman. Even your Lordship has forbore to hint any thing to his disadvantage. Indeed, it was publicly asserted, and I have never heard it contradicted, that at the time it was generally supposed Mr. Kinnaird would have been selected as candidate for Westminster, several of the leading Whigs of Westminster declared, that, although they were not inclined to support Mr. Kinnaird, they would support Mr. Hobhouse. The names mentioned were Mr. Wishart, Mr. Perry, and Mr. James Macdonald; of whom the first may be considered the representative of the remnant of the Foxites in Westminster; the second, as the organ of the whole party; and the last, the acknowledged head of the

Romilly committee. It is perfectly true, that when Mr. Kinnaird had withdrawn himself, the Whigs then found their objections would affix just as well to the next comer. The removal of the immediate eye-sore, only left them free to cast their angry glances at the object next brought forward, and placed by the same hands on the same eminence. The unanimity prevailing amongst the Reformers at the public meeting of November 17, 1818, and the refusal on the part of Lord John Russell to allow his name to be employed in opposition to them, seem to have softened the attempted hostility of the Whigs into a neutrality, which they preserved with a sullen air of discontent, almost to the last moment. But it is certain, that no personal objection whatever was at any time made to Mr. Hobhouse. One or two smart and ingenious attempts were indeed made in "*The Chronicle*" to draw him into a confession of faith; but not even when the sword of controversy was drawn, and the scabbard of shame and decency thrown away, by the honest polemics of "*The Chronicle*," was any specific charge against the character of Mr. Hobhouse, independent of his politics, ever adventured by his opponents. I should fancy that your Lordship would have found nothing to say against him had he stood on the other side of the hustings.

Certainly the objection, then, would appear

to attach to his presumed principles. In fact, Mr. Macdonald, in the requisition to Mr. Lamb, publicly stated that the reason for requesting him to come forward was, because Mr. Macdonald and his friends objected to the principles of Major Cartwright and of Mr. Hobhouse. What were the particular principles of Mr. Hobhouse to which the Whig gentlemen objected, they never condescended to state to the public; and, indeed, so far from having any thing to object to in those principles, the Whigs, through their organ the Chronicle, declared, after the election, that it was unfair to say that Mr. Hobhouse had any principles at all upon Reform.*

I have before touched upon the opinions respecting Reform of Parliament, publicly professed by Mr. Hobhouse on the hustings, and have shown how bold it must appear in a Whig to attack those opinions unless he premises that he has renounced all the notions formerly entertained by his party as to the PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE OF REFORM. Mr. Hobhouse appeared as the decided opponent of his Majesty's present ministers. The Whigs could hardly say, and they will hardly let your Lordship say, that they objected to Mr. Hobhouse on that score; but Mr. Hobhouse appeared as the advocate of the

* Chronicle, March 11. It may be some consolation to Mr. Hobhouse to recollect that the charge brought against Mr. Fox's reform was just the same—it was called *indefinite*.

PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE OF REFORM, and I do believe that this is the principle to which your Lordship objects, and which you think it of such national advantage to have for a moment defeated in Westminster, strange as such an objection must be from a member of the society of the Friends of the People. I believe, indeed, that had the Westminster Reformers and Mr. Hobhouse not thought Reform of such paramount importance as to make it necessary to expose that party combination by which it had suffered such cruel assaults, the mere presumed principles of Mr. Hobhouse would not have brought down the vengeance of the Whigs, especially when they thought their blow had so little chance of being effectual. Mr. Lambton kindly confessed that the Report of the Westminster Committee had been the sole cause of the nomination of Mr. Lamb : the honest frankness of youth and anger made him forget that his coadjutor, Mr. Macdonald, had put that nomination to the charge of the obnoxious principles of Mr. Hobhouse. The Chronicle, too, made the same profession, and attributed the opposition to Mr. Hobhouse solely to resentment, and to a resolution on the part of the Whigs to vindicate their honor. It went, indeed, the honest length of saying, “ that the Whigs were fond of liberty, but they would not *purchase even liberty at the expense of their honor.*” Candid

confession ! and one, which if you read *interest* for honor, may pass for an incontrovertible, immutable truth of all the political parties that ever distracted a state.

The Whigs, and your Lordship, may perhaps say that the objectionable part of the *principle* of the Westminster Reformers, and of Mr. Hobhouse, is that part which teaches them the necessity of decrying all party connexions, and of recalling public men to a sense of their present duty, by laying before them the record of their past professions : but this is rather the *practice* than the *principle*, and Mr. Lambton was much more honest than Mr. Macdonald in avowing the fact that the reason why the Whigs came forward with Mr. Lamb, was not for the sake of establishing any great public principle ; was not to produce any great national good ; but was solely to satisfy their wounded pride, or to convince the world, as Mr. Perry said, that though they loved liberty, they would not purchase even liberty at the expense of their honor.

What the Whigs call their honor, it is, alas ! very difficult to divine. This quality, like the *Constitution* of the country, as it resides we know not where, and consists in we know not what, may be unconsciously attacked, or gratuitously defended ; but the nation at large, who do not participate in those delicate feelings, and know of no private honor independent of public

principle in any set of politicians; the nation, I say, did not and will not understand why those persons who have for years been expressing their conviction that the king's ministers were ruining the country, should come forward to thwart an individual, and a body of their fellow countrymen, who had just been exerting themselves successfully to the confusion and discomfiture of the ministerial influence in the metropolis. The nation did not and will not understand that Mr. Macdonald told the truth when he signed the assertion that the Whigs put forward Mr. Lamb upon *principle*; but they give credit to Mr. Lambton for saying it was from *passion*. They believe him, and your Lordship must also believe him.

Your Lordship, then, cannot congratulate yourself upon the result of the election, as having defeated any obnoxious person, or the advocate of any principles obnoxious to the party you defend, and we must search for some other cause for your delight.

You say that the *tranquillity* of the country may be secured by this event. Never, perhaps, was such a consummation so ushered in. I do not suppose your Lordship had any hand in hiring the six hundred bludgeon men, who were arrayed at the command of Mr. Lamb's Committee; but you must have heard of the exploits of those heralds of peace. To mere

mortal eyes, your Lordship's Whigs, at the election, appeared to be Saviours, who brought "not peace but a sword."* It is possible that you may have been deceived by the Morning Post, and your own Chronicle, into the vulgar and now abandoned error of thinking that the Reformers had *hired* a large multitude to commit violences; but I assure you, and challenge denial, that since the people have taken the management of the election into their own hands, there has been no *organization of force* of any sort, much less such as formerly was arrayed, both by Whig and Tory, in Westminster.† Mr. Perry, during the election, talked of "the organized hired band of yellers." It was false—he knew it to be false. Not a sixpence was spent by the Reformers to obtain a false show of popularity.

* See the proceedings in the Court of Requests, as given in the Times and other papers. The bludgeon men were hired by one Bond, a Bow-street officer, who was hired by some of the Committee; a Captain Prescott, and Mr. James Macdonald; so said the agents in their indignation at being the sufferers.

† The excellent Mr. Lambton was most indignant at the Whigs and Mr. Fox having been charged by the Report with committing murder in the contests for Westminster. "How atrocious! only think, gentlemen, they said we committed murder." The young gentleman was too angry to see that the Report, or rather a quotation in the Report, only said that during the struggles murder had been committed; and so it had. The thing happened before Mr. Lambton was born, but it is nevertheless true.

It was reserved for your Whigs to renew their old practices ; to bring prize fighters and hired ruffians into the field. An honest Whig, in the *Chronicle*, up to the very last denied this fact, which had been notorious to every body before the Hustings for the last three days, and charged Mr. Hobhouse with denouncing the Whigs for this iniquity at the very moment he had encouraged the people to murderous attacks upon the Whig *gentlemen*. Even Mr. Lamb so far forgot himself as to say in his address, that his opponent had inflamed his adherents to assault the unprotected female, and the unprepared passenger ; but after Mr. Hobhouse had written his letter to the *Chronicle*,* and publicly renewed his charge of the Whigs hiring ruffians, and defied all the Whigs to prove that iniquity against the Reformers, your Lordship may have observed that impudence itself has been silent, and a judicial proceeding† has confirmed the fact publicly proclaimed by Mr. Hobhouse, that the Whigs hired a large body of ruffians to impede the return of the Reformer, and that to the brutal ferocity of those ruffians must be attributed all

* See *Chronicle*, March 6.

† It is a Whig adoption, perhaps, but not a Whig invention to make the prize-fighters pass for the people of London. Lord Bute, when minister, hired a number of these patriots to escort him to Guildhall, and was received much in the same way as the Whigs.—See the *History of the late Minority*, 1765, chap. xi. p. 127,

the disturbances at the close of the poll—and you call this securing *tranquillity*. It is a strange beginning, at any rate; but I can moreover appeal to your own Whigs, whether they do not feel that so far from securing tranquillity, they have sowed the seeds of a dissension between the Reformers and themselves that will never terminate except in the total overthrow of the party, or the total extinction of the principle of Reform.

When you talk of a great point gained, let me inquire what has triumphed. Is it a principle? Is it a party? No one will be so bold as to say that the return of Mr. Lamb secured any principle whatever. On the contrary, the whole proceedings of his supporters were one constant shuffle from beginning to end. It was said that he came forward on the principles of Sir Samuel Romilly: what were the principles of Sir Samuel Romilly? in what code do we find them embodied? but it is idle to talk of that virtuous man, who can be made ridiculous only by his absurd eulogists, and whose name was made use of on this occasion merely as a signal that those who had voted for Sir Samuel Romilly, might vote for Mr. Lamb: that was the meaning of *Vote for Lamb on Romilly's principles*.

It was also meant to insinuate, that as Sir Samuel Romilly had been the opposition candidate at the last election, so Mr. Lamb was the opposition candidate at this; and that Mr. Hobhouse was inclined to support the ministers.

No pains were spared to inculcate this opinion, by Mr. Lamb's canvassers and committee, and, in the early part of the election, many hundred voters were positively deceived by the falsehood of this honest election manœuvre. The "glorious principles of the revolution" were resorted to for the same worthy purpose, as if Mr. Hobhouse was *against* the revolution.

With the same candour it was spread about that Mr. Lamb was the *real* Reformer, and that Mr. Hobhouse intended to deprive many of his constituents, should he be returned, of their suffrages. The Whigs did not blush to disperse a hand-bill to this effect;* but they themselves did this very thing during the election, and disfranchised many hundred electors; and Mr. Lamb, though he had before professed himself for triennial parliaments and householder suffrage, totally dropt even his professions on a topic which as it had been taken up, was let drop for election purposes. He knew nothing about the matter; but, at the same time, had the modesty to talk of Mr. Hobhouse's explicit declaration as being unintelligible. At the latter end of the election, no more was said or placarded about Mr. Lamb's principles on Reform or Revolution. We came to the *honour of Westminster*, and Mr. Hobhouse, who was before charged with a wish to curtail the suffrage, was now accused with being an advocate of

* See the Speeches on the first Tuesday of the last election.

universal suffrage. In short, it would be the height of absurdity to say that any one principle has triumphed on this occasion. Towards the latter end of the election, it was hard to discover even whether Mr. Lamb intended to sit with the opposition, as the decency of his demeanor, under popular persecution, would have suited a court candidate; and, in his address of thanks, even the poor word, *liberty*, hacknied as it is, and one should have thought offensive not even to Mr. Lamb's ministerial supporters, was, either by accident or design, totally omitted. The triumph was given to the "*cause of independence*;" a word still better suited to the undefined virtues of the Whigs, and indiscriminately used by their opponents.*

Still less has any single party triumphed; for your Lordship cannot live so totally secluded from all truth as not to know that Mr. Lamb owes his majority full as much to the supporters of the court, as to the supporters of the party. As your title page calls your defence a defence of the Whigs, I presume that you would pretend that the honor belongs to the Whigs, although your Lordship's late practice would make it doubtful in whose success you would sincerely rejoice; that of the opposition or of

* Thus Mr. Sumner was called the *old independent member* for Surrey.

the minister. Both may divide the prize ; for, according to the rule of Joan of Arc, he who has shared the labour should share the glory.

The whole organization which procured for the totally unknown naval captain 4800 voters, was set at work for Mr. Lamb. All the engines of power, great and small, from the ordnance office to the select vestries, the parish officers; all were in activity. The nomination of Mr. Lamb was hailed with delight by the Courier, and that other faithful mirror in which we see the dirty faces of our court sycophants and slanderers. It is recollected by all who attended the hustings, that the whole array of collectors, and others, who were before the agents of Captain Maxwell, appeared for the Whig Candidate. It may be recollected, that when one of the speakers said that the appearance of Mr. Lamb might bring forward a ministerial candidate, the crowd exclaimed, *He is the ministerial candidate*. I may challenge your Lordship to point out a single effort or artifice, which are usually supposed characteristic of court candidates, that were not resorted to by Mr. Lamb's friends. If the first two or three days of the election were employed in persuading those who knew nothing of the transactions of the hustings, that Mr. Lamb was against the court, the whole of the latter part of the contest, when the first mean artifice had

been exhausted, was devoted to collecting the whole anti-popular force,—some of them the willing dependants, others the reluctant victims of power and corruption.

The return of Mr. Lamb is *not* the triumph of the Whigs, and I will venture to assert from a dissection of the poll, that had a regularly badged and liveried court candidate been started, Mr. Lamb would not have polled fifteen hundred votes. Let him try again when there is only one vacancy. That will show the Whig force in Westminster.

But if Mr. Lamb's return had been the fruit of Whig influence solely, I see not how your Lordship could possibly congratulate yourself upon such an event, produced by such means. You cannot know the circumstances of the case: that you *suspect* them might appear from that candid admission, “ If upon the late election, “ influences were exerted which the law prohibits, “ I hope they will be detected and punished, and “ a new election awarded ; but, beyond that, it is “ useless and childish to complain.”

If?—talkest thou to me of *ifs*, most noble Lord? These are not the days when I would have gone to you for constitutional law ; I would have willingly gone to the Erskine of 1793, when he said that the complaint was, “ that the people “ had no control in the choice of their represen- “ tatives ; that they were either chosen amidst

“riot and confusion, and amidst bribery and corruption in the larger districts, or by the absolute authority of a few individuals in the smaller.” Your Lordship now seems to resolve all crime into detection,

Deprendi miserum est.

And now that the Westminster petition has been dropped for want of pecuniary means of carrying on an expensive suit before a corrupt tribunal, your Lordship will doubtless more than ever call aloud for the test of legal detection.—I say, however, that it is notorious to all Westminster, that influences were *used which the law prohibits*. What was the Steward of Earl Grosvenor doing in Pimlico? How many letters did an agent for the Duke of Devonshire write to dependants of that powerful house? Ask an Irish Earl who might have been a peer, and therefore, perhaps was himself legally precluded from his very prominent exertions, in company with what nobleman’s steward he canvassed?—Why should my Lord William Russell have appeared repeatedly on the hustings together with other withered weeds,

“Which had no business there.”

Why, but that the Bedford tenants might know under whose flag to range themselves. Your Lordship, for ought I know, may not rank this interposition of agents of those belonging to the other branch of the legislature, under the “in-

fluences which the law prohibits." You may say, how do you know these stewards were agents? I dare say that they were not; I dare say that they acted against their nobler masters' inclinations, and I should not wonder if they were to be turned away from their service. The Duke of Devonshire besides was abroad, and could not leave any one to interfere for him at elections;—of course not: he has not an agent in the world, and if one of his borough-holders had died, it would have been impossible to fill up the vacancy!!!

To all this I say, that the voters considered the applications as coming from the masters who could record and punish, and not from the mere servants who had nothing to withhold or bestow. The employment of the managers of such estates as are in the hands of peers of parliament to show which way the tenants should vote, is manifestly nothing less than an interference contrary to the spirit of the law. But, here comes your Lordship's distinction, "It may not, indeed it cannot, always happen that every man in Westminster, who pays to the public taxes, has had leisure amidst laborious occupations, to consider the claims of candidates to distinction and preference. * Such persons may fairly trust in the opinions, and repose in the wishes of their BENEFACTORS, their EMPLOYERS, and

* Defence, &c. p. 19.

“ their FRIENDS; and it is not corruption in enlightened men, who can see clearly the interests of their country, to use their influence with persons less qualified to investigate those subjects!”—Which, being interpreted, is as follows; —How should a mechanic know any thing? the laws of his country give him a vote to be sure, but they intended it, like the penny to the school boy, not to be spent all in trash, not to be thrown away upon his silly inclinations; no, it is nothing but a little token or pledge to give to a benefactor, or an employer, or a friend, in return for favors received. It seems then we have been all wrong, and have misinterpreted the Bill of Rights; or, perhaps it is a misprint, like the omission of the negative in the seventh commandment; and we ought to read, “ Elections shall *not* be free,” the poor may have a WISH for one more than another, but he should give his WISH to the rich;

“ Right, cries his Lordship, for a rogue in need,

“ To have a taste is insolence indeed.”

You think of these laborious voters, as Mrs. Malaprop does of young girls, and sagely enquire, “ What they can have to do with preference and aversion.” Your Lordship has already had the serious answer* to your election

* “ And this direct recommendation to the one to buy, “ and to the other to sell his vote,—this recommendation of the “ influence of terror,—this recommendation to the one to

morality, which has often been practised I will allow, but which it was reserved for a Whig patriot, and a Whig Lord Chancellor to preach. A blush does indeed betray itself, for you say, "but whether I am right or wrong in this, it always did and always must happen in popular elections, unless God shall be pleased completely to recast the nature and character of man."

How impious then were the Whig friends of the people, who assumed to themselves that which your Lordship says, belongs only to the divinity, and did pretend completely to recast the nature and character of the Englishman, by making "a vote not worth soliciting." At any rate as your Lordship has kindly owned that you may be *wrong* in defending influence, I do not see how it can be "childish" in us to complain of it; and really the deferring the amendment to a new creation, the pious acquiescence in the present imperfect condition of humanity, which makes your Lordship inclined rather to increase than diminish the necessary portion of moral evil, may suggest to some one more ill-natured

"suborn the perjurer, and to the other to commit the perjury,"
 "comes from a person who calls himself a Parliamentary Reformer:—Truly, this is sound Whig reasoning. The ignorance on the one hand, and the wisdom on the other, is assumed merely to justify the perjury:—Truly, this is sound Whig morality. And then it is asserted, that there is no corruption in the transaction:—Truly, this is Whig honesty."
 —*Reply to Lord Erskine*, pp. 27, 28.

than myself, that your Lordship has forgotten there is a *second*, as well as an early *childishness*.

As to the inutility of complaint, that is our concern—were it only an amusement, it should be left to us; for we have nothing else. We are not actors in the great political drama, we are only spectators—sitting too on the last and lowest bench: but, we have paid our money, and if we do not like the performers, we may hiss—at least they thought so in France, and that too, under the old monarchy.*

But a word more on influences prohibited by law.—What does your Lordship think of public breakfasts? Do you laugh in our faces as Mr. Lamb did, and tell us that there is much “solid satisfaction in a breakfast?”

Perhaps you will say that the Treating Act does not extend to voluntary feasts given on the part of the candidate’s friends, and perhaps Mr. Harrison, of the New Hummums, poured forth his tea and wine all in gratuitous libations, and out of pure love to the Whigs.—Prove agency, you cry, or it is childish to complain—it is nothing that the invitations to these breakfasts were given by members of Mr. Lamb’s family—it is nothing that they were given by those canvassing for Mr. Lamb—it is nothing that the voters positively understood that if they

* “Ce monde ci est un œuvre comique,” &c. &c.
J. B. Rousseau.

voted for Mr. Lamb they would get a breakfast, and if they did not vote, they would get none.—This is not agency—this is only presumption—it is not detection.—A committee of the House of Commons has been known to reject even an entry in an innkeeper's book, debiting these treats to the candidate himself.* I know all this very well, my Lord—and I suppose the Westminster Electors knew it well enough when they abandoned their petition with the less regret, because their proofs were only moral evidences, sufficient to convince any honest man, and might have been voted frivolous and vexatious by a dozen corrupt, puzzle-headed quibblers, chosen from that very body whom the Westminster Electors have attempted to reform.

The same want of parliamentary demonstration may, perhaps, affect the acts of bribery, which became at last so notorious, that no less than four or five individuals offered themselves as voluntary witnesses of one single specimen of this approved model of Whig persuasion.

In the late enquiry into the Chester election, the payment of the money to the voter before the face of the candidate, was not held to be sufficient proof of bribery, although the friends of the opposing candidate advised him to desist from polling, as his election must necessarily have been secured by that illegal transaction:

* At the Shrewsbury Election.

so that I imagine the Electors would have had as little chance before a committee as they have had before your Lordship, whose morality, upon your own confession, is much like that of Julius Cæsar, who thought “ a man who had been caught in adultery not a *villain*, but a *bungler*.”

In addition to the immediate influence before described, which the law does not prohibit, but which every principle of honour and generosity condemns, it is known to all Westminster, that the fear of offending the united Aristocracy prevented many hundreds from voting for Mr. Hobhouse, who, nevertheless, could not be persuaded to give their support to Mr. Lamb.—Add to these, the great numbers rejected by the arbitrary decision of the High Bailiff, and the greater number of those, whom shame of declaring their poverty prevented from appearing at the Hustings, to be exposed to the taunts of the Rate Collectors and rejected by the Bailiff, and your Lordship would find Mr. Lamb in a minority much more considerable than his present majority.—Enquire of those who canvassed for either party, and you will then be able to discover on which side the wishes of the very great majority of the Electors were inclined.—More than the majority of Mr. Lamb were polled from the parish of St. George; that is to say, from that part of the town directly subject to the influence of the Aristocracy.—And it is no exaggeration

to affirm, that of the seven thousand unpolled Electors, four-fifths, if freely consulted, would have declared for the Reformer, in opposition to the Coalition Candidate.—Your Lordship may ask why did they not come forward; but you should be acquainted with the many disadvantages under which the advocates of the popular cause must necessarily exert themselves at a contested election for Westminster.—Their voters are all volunteers—they cannot be driven to the poll—they wait for company—they wait for a fine day—they wait for the latter days of the poll, when their votes may appear to them more valuable: in the mean time, terror and corruption, and solicitation of every sort, are unceasingly at work—a great effort is easily made by the trained bands in all the parishes, and the public offices are most active on the very days that the tradesman is most occupied.—The popular cause is almost sure to be in a minority in the latter days of the week, and hesitation and despair may very naturally keep back very many men most devoted to their honest principles; and thus produce a fatal effect upon the poll.

In the present case, however, it is a fact which every man who canvassed for Mr. Hobhouse will support me in declaring, that the High Bailiff's decision as to the Poor's Rate, will, of itself, sufficiently account for the defeat of the Reformers.

That decision is manifestly contrary to reason and the spirit of the Constitution, as it puts the Election in a manner, into the hands of the Rate and Tax Collectors, as it opens a door to bribery—and as it deprives a man of his franchise, in some cases, for an accident which he could not foresee; and in other cases, for an offence (if it may be so called) against which the law has provided another remedy, namely, distraint.

Supposing, then, the Whigs alone had done this deed, is it for your Lordship to trim their withered bays, because the distress and poverty of the people have afforded them a temporary triumph over the people?—This consideration alone, independent of all the “influences” of “benefactors, employers, and friends,” which the constitutional lawyer thinks so innocent and consonant to nature: this alone might have prevented a politician professing popular principles from congratulating himself on the result of the Westminster Election.

That it was no subject of congratulation, might have been understood by your Lordship, from the voice of the country, expressed in the independent voice of those weekly and provincial journals placed beyond the influence of metropolitan corruption.

More than all, it might have been understood from the unequivocal conduct of your Lordship's Whigs, who have never once broken silence, ex-

cept to betray their wounded feelings, and to pronounce a sentence of proscription and banishment * against those whom your Defence would

* "State of Parties," *Edinburgh Review* for June, 1818. One word on this extraordinary manifesto and this coldness. Can English legislators, the assumed representatives of the people, be accused of a greater crime than this Whig pleader admits his Whig clients to be guilty of? *A coldness to the popular cause!!!* What other cause is there in England, that a member of the legislature can honourably, can safely advocate? The very slaves of the treasury-bench admit the popular cause to be the pretext for all their law-making and law-breaking, and here comes a Whig and allows his friends to have felt an unfortunate coldness towards the people. A misfortune indeed, and one for which an English legislator deserves to be hanged. But hear some more. It seems the Whigs found out, that they were not quite right in reserving all their *warmth* for their own interest; yet they would not commit the vulgar error of courting or deserving popularity: By no means. The Whig apologist tells us, that the party "*cultivated more assiduously the esteem of the respectable portion of the community.*" Just for the present, we will not inquire who these august personages are, that sit apart, like Jove on his hill, and never mix in our low, common affairs, except to control them. The community, both respectable and dis-respectable, were, it seems, duly sensible of this amazing condescension. The apologist tells us, that they *evinced their willingness to return to their natural leaders*; and he pronounces, in a style suitable to the long-suffering and loving-kindness of their unalienable lords and masters, that "*there cannot be a doubt that this disposition will, as it ought, be met by corresponding kindness.*"

If this tender suggestion had proceeded from the forgiving Autocrat of all the Russias, at the head of seven hundred thousand bayonets, on the eve of quelling a Tartar insurrection, the kindness would be imperial; but for an insolent,

represent as having been driven from the field, and disabled for life.*

Your Lordship would have done well to imitate your more prudent friends; who thought of this "Result" as my uncle Toby did of the infant composition of Lipsius, "*Wipe it up and say nothing of the matter.*"

Your Lordship has told us what you think of the result of the election, I will tell you what we, that is, what the Rabble think of this notable event. We do not pretend that no circumstance since the Revolution can compare with it in importance, but we still think it of considerable importance. We think it has decided the fate of the Whigs for ever, and that the "unfortunate coldness" which their manifesto owns them to have felt towards the popular cause, will be henceforward repaid by the most freezing indifference and contempt. We think that not even the spoilt children, nor even the lick-spit-

impotent junta of little shuffling, busy, disappointed, jealous, disjointed clubmen, without authority, without concert, with no principle which they dare to profess, with not even a name to which they can fairly pretend,—for such nonentities to issue their *Ukase*, and with a Review for a Gazette, and a small critic for a Chancellor, to tell the *whole* nation of Englishmen that *they are pardoned*, is a piece of ludicrous presumption, quite worthy the assurance of this Solicitor *against* the people of England.

* Chronicle for March 11.—"*It is not merely to the principles of these men they object, it is to the men themselves.*" These men are Sir F. B. and Mr. H.

tles of the party, will now venture to assume a denomination which has for many years been rejected as absurd and inapplicable to any set of men; and which the late contest has rendered more odious, perhaps, than any title that ever designated the supporters of an antinational cause.

We feel assured, that those who really intend to benefit their country will henceforward regulate their opposition to the ruling faction in parliament, not with a reference to the approbation or the direction of a party-leader, but with the avowed purpose of doing their duty by their constituents, and satisfying the just expectations of the people. We cherish some hopes, that the day is not far distant when those, who, by their station and previous habits, are in possession of the fairest opportunities for action, will show that, by the honest propensities of a nature truly noble, they are such men as the nation would willingly see at their head, and would hail as their natural leaders indeed. For, believe me, my Lord, you and your friends misjudge the people most egregiously. They take no pleasure in the discovery or the exposure of your frailties: how can they be interested in the disappointment of their own hopes? where can be the consolation in confessing, that they have loved, and admired, and trusted in vain? Your reputation for sincerity must, necessarily, involve

their character for discernment; to own that you have been false is an avowal that they have been abused. The truth has long struggled for entrance. They are affectionate and confiding, and have willingly borne partial neglect, rather than anticipate separation by hasty complaints: it is true, that doubts have, from time to time, been raised; but they were not the suspicions of a tyrant or of a slave: they were the jealousies of a lover. They felt that your honour was their own; and even, when you were below the horizon, they were willing to mistake the twilight for the dawn; nor was the grateful error extorted from them, until they were left in total darkness, and, by a long and patient experience, they found that you had sunk to rise no more.

And here, my Lord, give me leave to expostulate with you on the strange objection contained in your Defence, to the exception made by Sir F. Burdett in favour of certain individuals of the Whig party, and confining his censure to those only whom the cap might fit. You call this "puerile"* because the character and consistency of the *Whig Party, in parliament, were directly invaded*. Now I really do not understand your meaning; and, indeed, you are so entirely ignorant of the events occurring on the hustings, chiefly, I presume, from trusting to

* Defence, p. 21.

the reports of your forty-years friend, that it is fitting to make every allowance for your misconceptions. The fact stood thus. The Whigs, at Covent-garden, and in their daily complaints, attacked Sir Francis Burdett, for an unsparing censure of the whole party, with some of whom he had appeared to act cordially in parliament, and with making no exception in favour of any body. Sir Francis, in reply, said, he did make an exception, and that he was willing to allow, that the best men in the nation were found amongst the Whigs, and that their excellent qualities were cramped because they belonged to a party. So you see, my Lord, that if there is any puerility in this exception, the puerility belongs to the Whigs who called for it. Only see how hard and inevitable is the fate which you prepare for Sir F. Burdett: one of the horns of your dilemma must catch him. He gives his opinion publicly against the Whigs. The Whig defenders exclaim, What! a lumping censure,—without exception. All of us bad—not one to be saved! By no means, answers Sir Francis; I do make exceptions.

Then comes the other Whig defender. “How puerile! you say some are good, some are bad. You object to the party, but you make exceptions; how puerile!!” What would you have had Sir Francis do? He gave his sentiments that, from past experience, no good

whatever was to be expected from the Whig party : that their object did not appear a national object, but a personal object : that their opposition might be, generally speaking, resolved into a struggle for place ; and that he felt no more interested in the success of the *Outs* than in the defeat of the *Ins*. *

* The definition of place-hunting, as given in the above quoted Whig manifesto, is as follows : “ He only can be “ charged with hunting after place, who assumes, for factious “ purposes, principles that do not belong to him, or abandons “ those which he had professed, when the avenues to office “ are within his views.” Very well ; try Mr. Fox by this rule. Mr. Fox’s defenders say he was *not seriously* for Reform of Parliament, but only took up the subject for the sake of backing the people : now when he came into place with Grenville and Sidmouth, which of his old principles stuck by him at all ? Coming in under Grenville, who was pledged *against* Reform, he could not be for Reform ; and yet he had *professed* Reform. Nothing is more common than to hear of the disinterestedness and adherence to principle manifested by the Whigs, by staying out of office when they might have so often come in. How often they have sacrificed their interest to their principles we cannot tell, but we can tell that the only time they have been in power for fifty years, they egregiously sacrificed their principles to their interest. The two coalitions are given up by the candid, even of their own party, and now the question whether or not they would prefer being in or out of place, is pretty clearly seen by the manifesto which smooths down all possible obstacles to their ascent to power. The Whigs take credit to themselves for going out of place because they could not carry the catholic question ; but the manifesto says, “ if they can carry the

Your Lordship may think that he took a wrong view on this subject; but surely there is nothing *puerile* in this opinion: it is far from the first time that the inexpediency, the mischievous tendency of party has been recognized and acted upon by a British statesman. When the disaffected Whigs joined the Tories to turn out Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Shippen, a politician, whom even his opponents admired, and whose name has been coupled with honesty by a great cotemporary poet, dropped at once his

“ catholic question, and effect a moderate and wholesome
 “ Reform of parliament, the country will gain so much the
 “ more. *But no such point should ever be thought of as a con-*
 “ *dition, sine qua non; retrenchment and reformation of abuses*
 “ *at home and abroad, ought alone to be reckoned the master*
 “ *principle of the party.*”

In 1798, the Whigs swore they would never come in without Reform: they dropped Reform between 1798 and 1806. In 1807, they swore they would not come in without emancipating the catholics: they dropped the catholics by the year 1818, and they laid down a “ master principle,” which will suit and be submitted to by any set of men in the world. After this, the modest pleader, with a *bonhomme* which he thinks he has communicated to his readers, says, “ *certain it is, that a hankering after place never was so little the failing of an opposition as in our times.*”

Lord Erskine goes even farther, and says, that “ the only
 “ criticism upon the conduct of the Whigs that he ever heard
 “ in the mouth of an enlightened and dispassionate man, was
 “ that by going out in 1807, they did not attend to *their* FIRST
 “ DUTY; *the CONSERVATION OF their POWER.*” So much for the
first duty of a Whig.

attack upon the minister, that he might not play into the hands of a selfish coalition.

The motion for removing Walpole from the king's councils for ever, had been warmly supported by the most distinguished patriots of the day—Sandys, Pulteney, Pitt, and Lyttleton; but Mr. Shippen “declared that he looked on “this motion as only a scheme for turning out “one minister and bringing in another; that as “his conduct in parliament had always been “regulated with a view to the good of his “country, without any regard to his private “interest, it was quite indifferent to him who “was in and who was out; and he would give “himself no concern in the question.” At the conclusion of these words he withdrew, and was followed by thirty-four of his friends.* It will, I confess, not be in our time that thirty-five members of parliament will pledge themselves in so decided a manner to an indifference who is in or who is out, and show, by an overt act, their impartial contempt for both sides of the House; and yet, even one of your Lordship's friends, another Whig defender, does own that it is within the sphere of possibility that a “*third party*” may arise, if ever our assurance that nothing will be done by either of the present

* *Coxe's Walpole*, chap 55, p. 656, vol. 1.

parties should become doubly sure.* The only difference between the learned reviewer and Sir F. Burdett, is respecting the precise period of the birth of this monster, which is to spring up when the slime of Whig and Tory shall have duly overflowed and saturated the land. The one thinks the time is not come, and that it may be deferred till the Whigs come into place ; the other

* See the Edinburgh Review for June, 1818. Article, State of Parties.—“ Nor would there fail in these times to
“ arise a third party for the interests of the people, if their
“ present defenders were to forget themselves when in office,
“ and to league with the advocates of unconstitutional
“ measures.”

The pleader disposes of the PEOPLE, on all occasions, in a very edifying way. They are to stick to their looms and ploughs in a prone and peaceful attitude ; or, if they look above for a moment, they must not feel any of the jealousies arising from past experience ; they must repose in faith, hope, and charity, and feel confident that something will be done when the Whigs come into power. When they do come in, then, to be sure, they ought to be closely watched ; and, says he, “ *are pretty sure to be so ;*” but, not so fast, good PEOPLE, not watched by *you*, the watching is to come from “ *those whom they have displaced.*” In other words, the *party out* are the fit monitors and correctors of the *party in* : the only earthly use of the PEOPLE, is that they may have *rhetorical* defenders, and that whilst those who strive to keep places, employ, as their own property, the words Church and King, and government, so those who struggle to get places, may, by the courtesy of England, exclusively resort to all popular topics of declamation.

thinks it is. There is nothing *puerile* in the latter opinion, even if it be a mistaken one.

Nor do I see how it is *puerile* to say, whether called upon or not, that the objection is to the principle of party generally from their collective conduct, and not to all the persons who compose that party. I doubt not, but that it would be very convenient for your Lordship's party to convict Sir F. Burdett of want of candour and discrimination; but we can perfectly well understand him as well as you. We know very well what he means by saying that he is at all times ready to join those who appear willing to do good; and that so far from feeling any rancorous animosity, which may prevent him from co-operating with the Whigs, he has often, indeed, much more steadily than any one man of their party, voted with them, and "will be happy to range himself under their banners, whenever they are inscribed with the sacred name of liberty."* The Whigs have, it is true, a very convenient method of quoting the good inclinations of individuals, never, perhaps, experienced by a single overt act, but which, from their general character, they may very likely possess, as a set-off against the faults of the party; but surely we have nothing to do but with that which is and has been done; and it is very idle for some of the young men of the regiment to com-

• Speech on the Hustings, March 1, 1819.

plain that we confound them with the actors in the coalition of 1807. If the Whigs will talk of themselves as Whigs, will cry out "stick to the party," "look at the party," we have nothing left for it but to see what the party has done.

Take one instance. The party divided very respectably near a hundred against the suspension bill in 1817; and, notwithstanding the awkward embarrassment which Mr. Ponsonby confessed he felt in defending a law, which he said he regarded with a *reverence amounting almost to superstition*, the party did not then, as you, their defender, do now, say, that the king's ministers were on that occasion *impelled* to permanent abridgments of public liberty. On this account we give the Whigs the merit of this opposition, such as it was. But Mr. Ponsonby said, that he gave his cordial assent to the introduction of the measures recommended by the secret committee; and although he could not give his consent to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Bill, yet "the communication made to parliament had his perfect approbation, and if he had been in the Cabinet, he would have recommended a communication of the very same kind."*

* Parliamentary Debates, Feb. 24, 1817.—Mr. Ponsonby also said, "that he wished to go every length which duty and propriety would allow, in strengthening the hands of government on this occasion."

Be it recollected that this communication was that of the secret committee, and that upon it were founded four measures ; the first the seditious meetings' bill, for the first reading of which bill Mr. Ponsonby voted, together with all the opposition then in the house except fourteen.*

All England is now completely convinced, and a respectable minority of the opposition has since voted by implication, that the communication of the secret committee was founded chiefly on the word of hired spies and informers, convicted of perjury, and every base and enormous offence. Now if the body of the Whigs under Mr. Ponsonby opposing the suspension bill, are to be praised ; the body of the Whigs under Mr. Ponsonby are to be condemned for supporting that secret committee, in whose report they had as great a share as the ministers ; so Lord Castle-reagh said publicly in the House of Commons : at least they are to be condemned by those who think that report was what it was called.—A Libel on the People of England. But here would come in one of the fourteen who voted against the seditious meetings' bill,† exclaiming, “ you are not

* Mr. Ponsonby seems to have felt some small compunction on the second reading of the seditious meetings' bill. Mr. Lamb went through thick and thin. Lord Erskine was against it.

† It was against the prototype of this bill, that the Whig club made their famous declaration, and form of association. —“ We whose names are hereunto subscribed, calling to mind “ the virtuous and memorable exertions of our ancestors, in

“ fair to attack all the Whigs—you are not fair
 “ to attack me, for I voted, and fourteen voted
 “ against the bill.” It is clear that this must be
 very satisfactory to the consciences, as it is honourable to the characters of the individuals; but it does not save the Whigs, who must stand or fall by the leader and the body of the party. If a combination is good for any thing, it must be good when a great national principle is at stake; if on these occasions the politicians do not hold together, it is idle to talk of party. The nation have nothing to do but to judge of the party by party acts; and to judge of individuals, by individual acts. It is indeed a very absurd expectation, to suppose, that the Whigs are to have the benefit of all the good ever done by any one of their party, but are never to be blamed for any bad measure from which even one of their party was found to dissent. Nothing is more idle than to say, “ But do you not think Lord Tavistock a very good man?”—Yes. “ Well then he is a Whig.”—Equally ridiculous is it to ask how it is

“ all past ages for the public happiness and freedom of this
 “ nation, do solemnly engage and pledge ourselves to each
 “ other, and to our country, to employ every legal and constitutional effort to obtain the repeal of two statutes, the
 “ one entitled, An Act for the more effectual preventing
 “ seditious meetings and assemblies.” This was about 1795, and in 1817, when according to the Edinburgh manifesto the Whigs were 130 in parliament, only *fourteen* voted against the bill, and the leader supported it!!!

that Sir Francis Burdett, who has voted so long with the Whigs, nay who has actually sat in one seat amongst them for so many years, should find fault with their proceedings. There is a wide difference between voting *with* a party, and *for* a party. Two men may travel the same road, but one may be on his way to build, and the other to rob a church. Sir Francis cannot help having voted with the Whigs, when they have opposed a vicious, and corrupt, and tyrannical system, but it does not at all follow that when he went into the lobby with the Noes, his wish should be to walk all the way with them through the dirt to Carlton House.

The cause, however, of this complaint, is easily discerned—as the ministers have the monopoly of power, their opponents think the monopoly of popularity belongs of right to themselves, and themselves only.—Thus can they overlook a little versatility or abandonment of principle, and even of party for the moment. A truly shabby fellow shall be pitied and protected, and the precedent be thought worth encouraging, for the sake of what the whole party may find it expedient to adopt hereafter : besides, any thing mean breaks a man's spirit and character, and qualifies him to wear with decent submission the party livery ; but no such pity, no such protection—no, not even toleration, for him who follows one steady rule of action, independently

of all personal connexion: his very virtues are but robberies from those who have them of right, and who know how to wear them so sociably—his concurrence is treachery, his opposition is malice; if he is silent, he deserts his duty—if he speaks, he spoils a project:—whether at ease or in action he is alike rebellious, and to be marked with the seal of reprobation. This is your choice: belong to a party—you shall be promoted, pushed, and caressed when living; and when you die, a statue shall reward your supple genius.—Rely on your own force, adhere to a national principle, and then prepare to be kept back, crushed, trampled upon, both by master and by slave—prepare to be reviled and insulted by those whose impotence confines them to slander and abuse: or should you meet with mercy, resign yourself to be amongst the number of *wiseacres*, alias *purists*, or of *well-meaning*, and *not very clear-sighted persons*, who labour under that unstatesman-like disease, “*a tender conscience*, or are tainted with *the vanity of always thinking for themselves*.” Such is the Whig manifesto against a tender conscience and independence—the words are from the above quoted article on the State of Parties,* which Mr. Brougham has the credit of having written, during the Westmoreland election, as Sir Richard

* Edinburgh Review, June, 1818.—It is astonishing that such a man will consent to be used.—

Blackmore wrote his verses “ to the rumbling of his chariot wheels.”

And now, my Lord, I shall take my leave, repeating the assurance with which I set out, that your Lordship never had, and never will have, such ardent admirers as those of my own class of life, who greeted your triumph on the glorious ninth of November.—To which, however, I must add; that when your Lordship made yourself more than a party to, nay even a defender of, the iniquities practised at the late Westminster Election, you might expect some hollow thanks for the apparent generosity of such voluntary devotion: but you could not flatter yourself that not one of the four thousand electors of Westminster, on whose defeat you stepped forward to congratulate your friends and the public, would not venture to remind your Lordship, that although the people may want foresight, they are not totally devoid of memory.—Nor could you forget that one of the weapons of controversy, lawful even in the hard hands of the vulgar, is the comparison of the past professions with the present doctrines of those by whom, at one time, they have been designated as a great and generous nation, and at another, as “ gangs of turbulent and almost distracted men.”*

You may, perhaps, in the opinion of your

* Defence, &c. p. 28.

friends, have given some hard blows to the people—you may have driven back the assailants of the Whig post; but you have laid yourself open to attacks which your party must surely deplore; and when your Lordship confesses that you leapt from the bed into the battle,* you might have recollected, that the Spartan, although victorious, was punished by his countrymen for rushing naked into the field.

Thus far had I written, and was about to wish you farewell; but at this instant I receive your answer to the Replyer—and I hasten to peruse the codicil of that political testament which you have lately indited as a last gift to the people of England.*

Now, my Lord, you are fair game—My respect for your former character, and a wish to spare a crazy politician, who might have been induced by what he thought loyalty to his party, or to a party which he wished to show he was still attached to, in spite of many acts of infidelity, prevented me from telling you the indig-

* Short Defence, &c. preface.

nation excited amongst the people by your thus coming forward as a volunteer^d bravo against the Reformers of Westminster.

But your Lordship has now chosen to adopt a tone such as shows you despise the usual allowances granted to age and former merits: you have chosen the weapons, and you must expect your antagonists to make such use of them as may be best suited to their purpose.

Your Lordship declares you were “ never more *diverted in your life with any thing you ever read*,”* than with sundry propositions of the Reply to you.—You tell us in the next page, that *nothing can be more amusing*†—in another place you are *much entertained*, and in other parts of your Answer you go on frisking and drivelling over every page, in order to convince the world, I presume, that although you have taken up this laughing mood late in life, you will make up for the delay by the vigorous and eager adoption of your late profession.—The gravity and eagerness with which you apply to your newly chosen employment, shall send you down like the Elephant on the Rope, as a worthy rival of the noble author who left his parliamentary pursuits to please the world with “ *Love in a hollow tree*.”

Never fear—if you want to be diverted, we

* Answer, page 2.

† Page 3.

will furnish you with the materials—you shall laugh ten times as much as ever ; but do not be angry with us if some intruders should chance to be a party to the amusement : and if your Lordship shall find that you yourself have contributed to the national stock of harmless pleasure.

Your Lordship is not content with the joke—with the laughable appearance presented by the Replyer—you have also thought it advisable to hint that he was not only certainly a humourist, but probably a drunkard ; and this hint you convey in a vein of irony, such as may suit your infant excursions in the paths of pleasantry.*

Allow me to congratulate you upon the felicity with which you have thus “ *taken the high priori road,*” and endeavoured to depreciate an anonymous letter, by declaring the correspondent to be drunk.—What has inspired your Lordship I will not presume to say, but after your adoption of such an extraordinary weapon of controversy, you will expect only a clear stage without any favor ; and you must not be offended, if I tell you, in return for having brought forward this Helot of a Reformer, to provide mirth and instruction for the public,

* “ Here then, Sir, is a deliberate assertion, written, for “ any thing I know to the contrary, in the early part of the “ day.”—See Answer, page 2.

that it is with a *perfect* stare of astonishment that we now see you attempt a merry mood for which you have hitherto shown no sort of capacity :

“ And from the dregs of life think to receive,

“ What the first sprightly runnings could not give.”

It is not my purpose now to examine minutely the pretexts which you have put forth for appearing in this new and amiable character—The profession of ignorance which you volunteer in the outset of your Answer, may be a protection for the argument, but not for the adversary ; and if your Lordship had really no other means of information than such as were derived from the daily press during the Westminster Election, and more particularly that portion of it which you appear exclusively to have consulted—I mean the Chronicle—you were presuming a little too much on your name and station, when you volunteered your aid to the fallen forces of the Whigs.—Nothing is more distressing, than for a person thoroughly acquainted with all the details of his subject, to have to contend with one who argues “ *ex plenâ ignorantia* ;” and all I can say to your Lordship, in reply to the greater part of your assertions, is—that they are founded on direct and absurd mis-statements, which never would have had the least influence with you, had you not been, as you confess,

“ at a distance from London during the late
 “ election for Westminster.” *

It is all in vain for any one to state those notorious iniquities which occurred on that occasion, if your Lordship is to come forward, and, with an air of the utmost ingenuity and *naïveté*, is to say, “ I know nothing of all
 “ these things—Who did them?—When were
 “ they done?—mention names—I know nothing
 “ of these matters—I don’t believe any body
 “ knows any thing of these matters.”

I say this is the amount of the denial which you have given to all the charges made in the Reply against the Whigs for their conduct at the late election; and you have even gone the length of using the same *argumentum ab ignorantia* to prove there was no coalition between the Ministerial and Whig parties against the Reformers; a fact which is notorious to every tradesman in Westminster. Your Lordship is not worthy a comment when you presume to throw a doubt upon a fact so clearly established, merely because no regular document of combination seems to have been drawn up between the prime minister and Mr. James Macdonald. What can be got by arguing with a man who either does not, or will not, know a fact passing under his nose? You refer the proof of the charges against the Whigs to the evidence to be

* Answer, p. 1.

brought by the petitioners against Mr. Lamb's return. Although the petition had been dropt for want of money, three weeks before you published your answer.

But before you come to this bold demonstration of your ignorance as to the general events of the late Westminster election, you take care to show that you are not acquainted even with the very conduct and professions of your own party on that occasion; for you devote three or four pages to playing with that part of the Reply which says that Mr. Hobhouse's speech, and the Report of the Committee, were the cause of the opposition to Mr. Hobhouse, and the consequent exposure of the Whigs.

You put into capital letters, as an absurdity which tickled your fancy beyond all things, the assertion of the Reply, that Mr. Hobhouse's OWN SPEECH, AND THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE, PREVENTED HIS WALKING OVER THE COURSE. Why, you silly man! this assertion was made by the Whigs at the hustings, and also by the Chronicle; and if you will laugh at any body for it, you must laugh at the testy gentlemen who allowed a tavern speech, and the said Report, to put them into a passion, and to alter the line of conduct which they had resolved to pursue in Westminster. You are so ignorant that you absolutely appear not to know that the Whigs were resolved to start no body against

Mr. Hobhouse, and would never have done so but for the speech and the Report, which have excited your merriment. You appear not to know that the Whigs owned this themselves; nay, did more, for they made it the pretext, the excuse, for doing that which they otherwise would never, they said, have wished to do. I refer you to Mr. Lambton's speech, and to the repeated articles in the Chronicle to this effect.*

Your pleasantry on the presumed assertion of the Replyer, that Mr. Hobhouse's speech, and the Report, had "blown up at once into the air" a "great number of persons of rank and property, who had contrived, for above a century, to impose upon the people as men of public spirit and virtue," must be derived solely from

* The Chronicle for March 11, after the election was over, reiterates the assertion, coupling with the Report and Mr. Hobhouse's speech, the countenance which Sir F. Burdett gave to the Report. Here, however, the Chronicle, as usual, argued upon a fiction of its own. Sir F. Burdett had never read the Report, when he took the chair at the meeting; he could not hear it, at the Crown and Anchor, for it was not all read there; and he never once gave his opinion upon it during his speeches on that day. Nor could Mr. Hobhouse offend in this particular; he had nothing to do with the framing of the Report; he never alluded to it in his speech at the meeting, in terms indicative of his opinion—But his offence was, calling Mr. Fox a radical Reformer, and reminding the people that the opposition now did not dare to devote a single toast to Parliamentary Reform.

your interpretation of the Reply, which attributed the contempt into which the Whigs had fallen to their conduct at the Westminster election, and which had been occasioned by what was said of them by Mr. Hobhouse, and by the Report. As to the gentlemen of antediluvian ages, whose public spirit and virtue of above a century you record, who are they? I have already shown the absurdity of talking of the Whigs as a party existing in regular succession, either as to principles or families, since the Revolution; and it is only now necessary to remark upon the recurrence to the usual Whig trick of assuming, as a notorious fact, what a little examination will show to be a ridiculous fiction.

Your Lordship's memory is so short that you actually forget your own pamphlet when you ask the Replyer how he could "expect from you a history of England commencing above a century ago." This is too bad. It was your Lordship who began, in the old Whig way, to boast of the Revolution of 1688, and to say that an attack on the modern Whigs *cast into the shade the character of the Revolution itself*.* Now it was perfectly fair in the Replyer to observe, that if you would claim for your Whigs the merit of what the Whigs did at the Revolution, he might fairly subtract from the merits of the

* Short Address, &c. page 2.

said Whigs by showing what the ancient Whigs did *not do* at the Revolution. Here, however, you are more a Whig than ever, and have actually done the very thing which I have charged as a common practice against your party; for you say that *if* the managers of the Revolution acted ill “they only dishonoured themselves, and did injustice to their country; but surely their conduct could in no manner affect the characters of men in another generation.” This is exactly what we say; but you would make the rule apply only to the bad part of the conduct of your presumed political ancestors, and would have the benefit of all the good they were able to achieve, as your lawful inheritance.

You must either make no more boast of the Revolution Whigs, or you must allow us to point out where they failed to merit the great praise you claim for them, in the first instance, and then for yourselves. On this point I have only to refer you to my former account of the true pedigree of Whig virtue. If you do not like my *tree*, show where it is wrong, and do not you, a lawyer and a judge, complain of having to go back a hundred years.

The Whigs, however, generally wish to make out that there has been a regular transmission not only of riches and honors with their pure blood, but also of political virtue; nay more, of public confidence. Thus the young member

for Durham, from whom, considering his character, the people will bear a good deal of arrogance and absurdity without complaining, in his late Newcastle Fox speech, talked of certain people, "*whose principles had been regularly and faithfully*" "*fully cherished from one generation to another.*" Now, who the deuce are these people? It is strange enough that although all this happened in our time, we should know nothing of it.

I do not wonder, however, that your Lordship has some objection to enquire into the past, when you do not condescend to inform yourself even of present transactions, and when you choose to represent yourself so amiably innocent of all experience in the wicked ways of the contemporary world, as actually to deride the Replyer, and to hint that he must be an habitual drunkard for supposing it possible that very honest well-informed men in private life,* should be very abandoned and dangerous political characters. Indeed, Lord Erskine, this is too much. I do not wish to call you a canting hypocrite, though you have used much harder words to the Replyer; but what will the world think of your pretended ignorance of a fact, which you, yourself, forgetting the absurdity you had committed a few pages before, admit in the subsequent part of your answer as a common moral phe-

* Answer, page 3.

nomenon. For you tell the Replyer, that it is in political controversy only that you “*wish to believe him guilty of such a disgusting departure from every principle of justice,*” adding, “*perhaps if I knew you, I might regard you as a private man.*”* In this place, you very inadvertently, no doubt, show your complete persuasion of the existence of that common inconsistency in human character, the belief in which you have before charged upon the Replyer, as a most *diverting* absurdity, perhaps committed in his cups.

After such a specimen of the mosaic, parti-coloured, inconsistent materials, composing your answer, I doubt whether the world will be anxious to hear any more of a controversialist, who furnishes by accident in one place the refutation of a deliberate absurdity in another. But I shall not let slip this opportunity of enforcing the truth of the position taken up by the Replyer; a truth, the general recognition of which, is of the utmost importance, as a refutation of that most injurious but common fallacy employed by selfish politicians to excuse their dereliction from public duty. It is notoriously too usual a trick to draw off the attention from public misconduct, by referring to the private qualities of the delinquent, as a presumptive

* Answer, p. 39.

proof that what so excellent a person does, must be done conscientiously, and from good though mistaken motives. But we have nothing to do with such virtues. The House of Commons contains as many good fathers, good brothers, good sons, and good people, in all the private relations of life, as can well be assembled together amongst 658 individuals, and yet the whole misfortunes of the country, as Lord Grey said in 1793, aye, and of Europe too, as your Lordship said, have undoubtedly emanated from that assembly, and, as far as their public works are concerned, it might as well have been composed of the devils of Pandæmonium.

In judging of politicians, we have nothing to do but with their public works; by these we are to know them; we are not to judge of the works by the men, but of the men by their works. How foolish it is of your Lordship, when trying to excuse the Irish insurrection act, you say you do not mean to enter into the merits of the proposition, though *if it came from the Duke of Bedford, then in Ireland, and the late Mr. Elliot, the presumption was strongly in its favor, from their tried and distinguished talents as statesmen, united with the utmost mildness and gentleness of disposition; qualifications which could not deliver the last, though unhappily lost to his country, from an insinuation of reproach.**

* Answer, p. 66.

How very idle is all this ! The question was not what sort of a man the Duke of Bedford is, nor what sort of a man Mr. Elliot was, but what sort of thing the *Irish insurrection act* was. The question was as to *the merits of that proposition* as you call it ; and if you did not chuse to enter into those merits, you should have been silent ; for we have not yet extended the law fiction which guards the king, to you and your friends. We do not admit, as an *à priori* defence of your follies, that a Whig can do no wrong.

I must here remark that you have had recourse throughout the whole of your answer to this ridiculous fallacy, and that to an extent which cannot but move the pity of those who recollect what you once were, and the indignation of those who cannot understand how you can venture to lend the sanction of a respectable name to the unworthy delusions of hypocrisy. Pray review the manner in which you have touched upon one of the charges made against the Whigs by the Replyer ; namely, the introduction of Lord Ellenborough into the cabinet. Do you defend it, or do you not defend it ? I say it is impossible to make out any thing from your three pages and a half on this subject, except that you are resolved to shuffle over this question, and to divert our attention from the merits of the question first of all, to the improbability of your consenting to do any thing wrong on this point ;

you, “ *who of all others ought certainly to have
“ been most jealous of any departure from that
“ sacred principle of judicial independence which
“ is the greatest security to the public freedom.*”*

Why, my Lord, this is just what we say; but to assert that you *ought* to have been jealous, when we protest that you were *not* jealous, is really too ludicrous: at this rate we shall never be able to convict any delinquent of any charge. Such a mode of reasoning downwards is absurd in any case, but more so when the person whose implied consciousness of duty, (for it is nothing more) is to protect whatever emanates from him, is the very individual charged with the crime. You, secondly, turn from your own authority, that is, the authority of the person accused, to the authority of Lord Ellenborough, that is, the authority of the person benefitted by the transition.—Strange logic from a lawyer.

You say,—“ But a distinction between the
“ privy council and the cabinet, in any thing
“ connected with the independence of judicial
“ functions, never even occurred to me, nor to
“ Lord Ellenborough himself, though a very
“ able and learned man, yet whose character
“ would have been still more involved in the
“ acceptance of an inconsistent situation, con-
“ ferring, besides, neither emolument nor dig-
“ nity, beyond those of his already exalted

* Answer, p. 54.

“ station, but only adding to its almost intolerable burthens, which have lately carried him to the grave.”*

To what does all this amount? merely to the same argument of authority: first, that Lord Ellenborough was a very able and learned man; secondly, that he would have lost character by the act if wrong; and, thirdly, that he hurried himself prematurely to the grave, by thus adding to his public duties. The whole of which are mere assumptions, and, if admitted, would prove nothing; for a very able and learned man may commit a very unconstitutional act; a man, sensible that he would lose character by that act, may still consent to that loss; and, lastly, I presume, that, as the untimely death of Lord Ellenborough was introduced by your Lordship, to give us a specimen of the pathetic in pamphleteering, any serious remark on my part would be thrown away upon a mere trope. I believe Lord Ellenborough to have been a very wicked judge, but I will not make a jest of his decease, much as you tempt your readers to pleasantry, by the verdict you have just given, as to the manner in which he came by his death.

Before I have done with this part of the question, I cannot help observing upon the innocence with which your Lordship keeps out of sight the real cause of Lord Ellenborough's ap-

* Answer, p. 56.

pointment, which was no less disgraceful to the Whigs than the appointment itself. It was merely that Lord Sidmouth might have his due share of influence and number of votes in the cabinet. In order to prevent the preponderance of those principles which the Foxites had so long professed, (as well as to carve out in equal portions the favours of the crown) it was demanded, that a sufficient quantity of the old leaven of high-church and Tory principles should be infused into the government. By submitting to this addition to the numerical force of their old opponents in the coalition cabinet, the Whigs basely consented to give a gaurantee, as it were, against themselves, and to bind their own hands from the commission of any of those popular acts which they had so often threatened in the course of their old opposition calling. The admission of Lord Ellenborough and such men into the cabinet was, I repeat, a security demanded by the king and the Tories, against the preponderance of presumed Whig principles; and, by granting that security, doubly, as it were, and violating those principles by the admission, not only of another friend of the court, but that man, chief justice of England; the Whigs showed even in the outset, that they had no objection to give the best possible security against the interference of their old opposition professions with their present ministerial practice. Your Lordship

had better have contented yourself with saying as you do, "*I wish, for my own part, that Judges could have been always kept at a distance from every thing connected with the court, or with any council of the king.*"* This would have been a late repentance and acquiescence in the general voice of your countrymen, (including many of your own party) which has decided, beyond the reach of sophistry, this act to be an indelible disgrace on the memory of Mr. Fox. Mr. Perceval was backed by the whole country when he exclaimed, "It is impossible to say what part Mr. Fox would have acted had this measure been resorted to by a ministry he opposed; but if he was serious in his attachment to *liberty*, of which, all over the world, he was an affectionate toaster, it was natural to think he would have opposed a thing so inconsistent with the true principles of freedom. I am satisfied that, if ministers do not now see the impropriety of the measure, they soon will be convinced, by the disapprobation of the country. I rather think that they doubt its propriety, but are too obstinate to confess their error."† I was in the House of Commons myself, and can appeal to all present, whether the new tenants of the treasury-bench did not by their blushes show a sign of grace. They were too young in office

* Answer, p. 57.

† Parliamentary Debates, March 3, 1806.

to be hardened sinners, and the elaborate defence of "the most accomplished debater that the world ever saw" lost all impression, and was at once effaced by this simple appeal to the opinion of the country and to the conscience of the ministers.

A more extraordinary instance even than those before quoted, has your Lordship given of your new way of arguing from persons to facts, in the excuse you make for the Whigs voting the payment of his debts to Mr. Pitt. Your reason is, first, because "*it manifestly appeared at his death that he had been an incorrupt,*" though in your opinion, "*a mistaken servant of the crown.*" Now this merely amounts to Mr. Pitt not having made a fortune for himself; but, I say, that no man would think it worth his trouble to make a fortune, if he could be permitted to accumulate a debt of 40,000*l*.* Mr. Pitt had money's worth all his life, and that he was not guilty of the sordid, troublesome folly of heaping up money itself, was no earthly reason for paying his debts. Leaving a debt of 40,000*l*., or 40,000*l*. in his coffers, was, as far as the nation was concerned, just the same thing, if the nation paid the debt, except that the former hazarded the commission

* Mr. Fox said, that "to speak of Mr. Pitt as disinterested in not touching the public money was an insult."—*Debates*, Feb. 3, 1806. Mr. Ponsonby said, he was astonished Mr. Pitt's debts were so little as 40,000*l*!!

of an additional injustice; namely, the ruin of his creditors. As to your Lordship reducing all Mr. Pitt's faults, which you had ten thousand times all of you denounced as treason against public liberty, into his being merely a "*mistaken servant of the crown*," I say, that such candour does not deceive you, still less can you expect us to be cheated by so odious and idle a pretext for sacrificing a public principle.

Your next reason is, that you would, had you opposed the motion, "*been outnumbered by an immense majority in parliament*." I believe you would; but what has this to do with the matter? If you were to have been deterred by *immense majorities in parliament*, you never would have opposed Mr. Pitt throughout the whole of his career. As parliaments are now constituted, there never can be enough of genuine public spirit to resist the idle clamour against severity and persecution beyond the grave; but, had the sense of the people been taken, ninety-nine-hundredths of the nation would have applauded the Foxites for not acquiescing in the payment of the debts of the minister.* A resistance which would have been equally well founded, with the opposition of Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham to the erection of Mr. Pitt's monument. The fear of being unnumbered did not prevent Mr. Fox from opposing the monument; he had

* Cobbett's Political Register, Feb. 1, 1806.

only 89 with him on that occasion: this, therefore, was not the reason why the Whigs consented to pay Mr. Pitt's debts.

The reason your Lordship gives is, that Mr. Fox "*concurred with the adversaries of his opinions, though it might appear to give a colour against his own, rather than keep up, beyond the grave, political animosities and contentions, the very remembrance of which, in his own benevolent mind, had already been blotted out for ever.*"* No, my Lord, this will not do; this was not the reason to be inferred from Mr. Fox's own words.

Mr. Canning having said, "*I beg gentlemen again to consider on what ground they agree to the motion. Those who do not vote for it, on the ground of Mr. Pitt's merits, had better oppose it openly.*" Mr. Fox answered, "*He had only said, that he had distinctly stated the grounds of his own vote in favour of it to be Mr. Pitt's MERITS.*"† Your Lordship is determined not to recollect the history of transactions in which you yourself were concerned. But your own additional reason for consenting to this measure, is a most extraordinary instance of the personal reverence I have so often alluded to: you wish it to be "*recollected, that Mr. Pitt was the son of the great Earl of Chatham, who had a right to expect to be still living in the feelings of this country:*" exceedingly

* Answer, p. 52. † Debates, Feb. 3, 1806.

good; but if a monument is to be raised to all of the descendants of that minister, as long as Lord Chatham is *living in the feelings of this country*, where shall room be found for the cumbrous repeated tokens of such eternal gratitude. Your Lordship took care, in 1793, to remind Mr. Pitt how he differed from the great Earl of Chatham, and since, according to your own account, the debts of Mr. Pitt were paid, by the candour of Mr. Fox, and as a debt to Lord Chatham: the merits, then, of Mr. Pitt had nothing to do with the matter; and the commander-in-chief of the Walcheren expedition will have *a right to expect* that his father shall be living in the feelings of this country, at his demise also, as well as at that of his younger brother. The nation did not here want any such memorial to prove, that the late Earl of Chatham was still living in the feelings of the country. The parliament, that settled 4,000*l.* a year upon his descendants, took care to prevent any premature oblivion upon the subject of his merits. Lord Chatham is still living in the red book. On the whole, this is an inimitable sample of Whig practice, and Whig pleading. The question is, whether a minister, whom the Whigs had for 20 years proclaimed an apostate and a traitor to the liberties of his country, should have his debts paid by the nation, as a national token of his *merits*? The Whig leader at the time positively

says, “ Yes, *for his merits.*” The Whig Chancellor, 13 years afterwards, says, “ Yes; 1st, because he fingered none of the public money, (a merit which it was an insult, according to the Whig leader, to impute to him); 2dly, because it would have been useless to oppose the majority; 3dly, because Mr. Fox was a man of such *gentleness, ingenuousness, and noble simplicity*, that he forgave Mr. Pitt; and, 4thly, because whatever you may think and we all thought of Mr. Pitt, his father was still the *great* Earl of Chatham.” Here we have names, and words, and virtues, arranged in close order, according to the usual Whig tactics, to keep out of view the untenable nakedness of the post which it is necessary to defend. To crown all, your Lordship has recourse to the reverse of the Wolf’s argument: The son is but a lamb, but he had a ram for his father.

In truth, my Lord, the nation have a right to demand consistency from their public men. The memory of a bad minister should be pursued with invectives, not suffered to sleep in oblivion; far less be crowned with reward. It is not just that some solitary merit should be selected as an excuse either for remuneration or for pardon. Public justice, public good, demand otherwise. What security can there be for the sincerity of our politicians if they are even required to show themselves actuated at different times by feelings so different on the

same subject, and if their opposition to a system is to appear only a dramatic part adopted in their character as opponents of the minister, and which must be dropped for the sake of decent condolence when he drops into the grave? Your Lordship may call this persecution, may call this warring with the dead. It may be so: but it is, nevertheless, just, and proper, and useful.

Those feelings, which in private life are incompatible with an amiable character, are not to be checked; on the contrary, they are to be cherished when applied to the political conduct of our contemporaries. It is the duty of every good statesman to cherish his antipathies for bad statesmen. To blot out for ever such animosities is not, as you would hint, a proof of a benevolent mind. It is a proof of a feeble mind, of a profligate mind; it is a proof of a man either being deceived by the appearance of rectitude, or it is more likely by the wish to obtain a little momentary credit for a display of the milder qualities: or of his being deliberately resolved to acquiesce in the pardon of vice rather than to establish a precedent which shall set the standard of virtue too high, and exclude all chance of indulgence for his own meditated apostacy. I have as great a veneration for part of Mr. Fox's character, as your Lordship has, but not for this part.

It is not required, that the debates in parliament should “*engender any malignant passions,*” which your Lordship seems to think they would, if men were obliged to adhere to their former professions; on the contrary, there is not the least necessity that a feeling on public affairs should interfere with the charities of private life; and I can easily understand, how Cromwell should be ready to fire a pistol in King Charles’s face without feeling the least *personal* animosity against him. But the House of Commons should be a field for serious warfare, not for a sham-fight, or an Italian battle, only for *unseating* the combatants. Your Lordship seems delighted with every thing unsubstantial, and is pleased even with a popular clamour, provided it shall be about nothing, and have no foundation in reason, or knowledge, or consideration.* In the same way I must allow that, candour, and indulgence, and liberality, are inimitably suited to the farce which is got up and played by the rival polemics of St. Stephen’s, and will be encouraged and copied, and these opinions of mine hooted down and proscribed as long as that farce lasts. But when the curtain shall have fallen,

* “Clamours of such descriptions may pass at the moment, “and, perhaps, have their uses in a free country, though set “on foot without due knowledge or consideration.”—*Answer*, &c. p. 54.

never again to be raised over those fooleries; then, indeed, words will have their true weight and invariable meaning, wherever spoken, and the speakers will be expected to abide by them; then we shall hear no more of those theatrical passions which prompt our patriots to take a minister's head this day and his arm the next: the language of furious proscription, and of fulsome panegyric, will no longer be heard in an assembly met together not to indulge the momentary humours of a few individuals, but to promote the permanent happiness of all. We shall have done with that sage privilege, by which the parliamentary currency has been debased into nothing but local tokens, mere paltry club counters, perpetually changing hands, and passed, with mock solemnity, from gambler to gambler, and back again, but which are payable no where out of the room, and not worth picking up in the street. When that day comes, we shall hear no more of the *merits* of a dead minister in the mouth of the man who has condemned every action of his life; nor will men, like your Lordship, be called upon to defend the inconsistencies of an illustrious friend, and venture, when writing to a nation who have some little character for common sense, to pourtray the loathsome excrescences of habitual hypocrisy as “*a beautiful feature of our public councils.*”*

* Answer, &c. page 49.

I pass, as you pass, my Lord, quite naturally, from the pardon granted by the Whigs to a dead enemy, to the friendship which they accorded to a living opponent.

The Coalition of 1806 is allowed by the apologist for your party, to have formed "a motley administration,* which afforded a lesson of errors to be in future avoided." But if this candid avowal had not been made, the nation had decided that question, and your Lordship comes too late with any discovery respecting the junction of Lord Grenville with Mr. Fox—or rather of Mr. Fox consenting to take place under Lord Grenville. Your whole excuse goes, indeed, as I have before hinted, to the necessity of keeping worse men out of place. You ask,† "could they (the Whigs) themselves have formed an administration?" I do not know—but I do know that the formation of an administration ought not to be the first grand object of the representatives of the people in parliament: and that if those men who advocate popular principles, remained firm to those principles, without any of the usual motives of party, they would form an union, which, if mere place were their object, would, sooner or later, *force* any king of England to adopt their counsels, without any base conditions or wicked alliances. I do know that the country expected of them that they should never

* State of Parties, *Edinburgh Review* for June, 1818.

† Defence, page 23.

form part of an administration, except for the purpose of carrying into effect the principles they had so long professed; and I also know, that the general disappointment attending that administration attached solely to the Whigs.—No one thought worse of Lord Grenville for admitting Mr. Fox under him—no one thought worse of Lord Sidmouth for acting with Mr. Fox—and for this reason—it was clear that neither Lord Sidmouth nor Lord Grenville had made any sacrifice of principle—the administration was such as might have been expected from them. The sacrifice then was thought to be solely on the part of the Whigs—not only the people, but the Tories themselves, saw where the change had taken place; and a courtly poet, of great eminence, dropped a tear over the grave of the regenerated patriot, who had died, though he had not lived, a Briton*—in other words, who had repented of his former popular politics. As the Whigs allowed so great an infusion of Lord Sidmouth's principles, and gave such a guarantee against the admission of their own, by giving Lord Ellenborough a seat in the Cabinet; so they offered, if possible, a more decisive surety to Lord Grenville, that he never should have reason to complain of any recurrence to their old, troublesome, opposition politics.—And

* “Record that Fox a Briton died.”—*Walter Scott*—
MARMION.

this they did betimes—for I recollect that Mr. Fox was yet on the opposition bench when he moved for “*leave to bring in a bill for removing certain doubts*” * as to the compatibility of the offices of Auditor of the Exchequer and Commissioner of the Treasury. But the omnipotence of parliament itself could not have reached to the removing of *doubts*, had they existed; and the nation found itself suddenly half agreeing with Mr. George Rose, when he said, that he should have consented to the bill if it had been to remove doubts, but that no “*doubt could be entertained on the subject.*” † It was not, perhaps, so much the impropriety of the thing itself which shocked the nation, as the sign which it afforded, that the Whigs despised all public opinion, and were, for the sake of a ministerial arrangement, quite careless how soon they gave a proof of their contempt.

Lord Grenville did not lose any character by the transaction—it was conformable to his whole practice and preaching; and as to the people, he had not to settle accounts with them, but with the King and parliament. But the Whigs had preached against such practices, and had appealed to the people against king and parliament any time these twenty years. The measure by

* Feb. 4, 1806—Parliamentary Debates.

† Debates as above.

which Lord Grenville was to lose nothing by consenting to the arrangement that included the Whigs, has received a condemnation without appeal—your Lordship knows well enough that it has; and that to call the unpopularity which attached to the Whigs for that measure, a “*prejudice*,”* which it is disgraceful to renew, is to force us to take your word for more than it is worth.

As to the Coalition itself, you are equally bold when you say, that the Replyer ought to have shown that the Whigs “could have carried measures of their own by a sole administration, which were frustrated by the union you condemn.”† The weight of this proof did not lie at all upon the Replyer—it was enough for him to show that from the Coalition administration had emanated certain acts, totally at variance with the formerly professed principles of the Whigs. The Replyer did not, I believe, complain of the Whigs for that reconciliation with an antagonist, which you think so *beautiful a feature* of our councils, but with reconciling themselves to measures which they had for a quarter of a century condemned. You cannot deny, that if Mr. Fox did not bring Whig principles into place, it was nothing to bring Whigs into place. You cannot get over, that Mr. Fox gave his pledge to the whole nation repeatedly, that *a*

* Answer, page 54.

† Ibid, page 49.

*radical reform both in the Representation of the people in parliament, and of the abuses that have crept into the practice of the Constitution of this country, together with a complete and fundamental change of system of administration, must take place; and that till it did, he, for one, would take no share in any administration or be responsible in any office in his Majesty's councils.** Now, my Lord, I ask you publicly, did Mr. Fox, when he joined Lord Grenville and Lord Sidmouth—men, whose fortunes and characters had grown solely out of and upon the very system which Mr. Fox swore he would change radically, or live out of place all his life—did he make one single stipulation, that he should be allowed to make a single change in the general system of administration? Answer me, my Lord, or never talk again of the Whigs not having had time to develop their virtues. I ask you explicitly, did Mr. Fox insist upon a reform of any one of the *abuses that have crept into the practice of the Constitution*, as the condition of his coming into place? Was it understood amongst your party, that one word had passed on the subject previously to your acceptance of office? Mr. Fox said in the debate, Jan. 4, 1798, that if he had advised Lord Moira, he should have said—“Take care, my Lord, take care, that while you are forming the ministry, you are not doing so without

* Parliamentary Debates, Jan. 4, 1798.

“solid grounds: unless you have a proper
 “pledge of a Reform, the good which you
 “intend will come to nothing.” Did Mr. Fox
 have or ask for this proper pledge? He said,
 on the same occasion, “My sincere wish was,
 “never to make any part of any administration,
 “and I NEVER WILL, unless I have a *pledge for*
 “*a general reform of abuses.*” Had Mr. Fox
 this pledge? As to Reform of Parliament—you
 tell us too clearly to be misunderstood, that it
 was not brought into consideration—and for what
 reason? because, “there was no *chance what-*
 “*ever* that the House of Commons would have
 “yielded at present to any minister.” Good hea-
 vens! then the Whigs are worse than Pitt—be-
 sides, there being *no chance whatever* of carrying
 the measure, so far from preventing Mr. Grey
 and yourself from bringing it forward, actually
 stimulated you the more. You owned there was
 no chance, and made it an argument for agi-
 tating the question. Surely, your chance was
 increased by your becoming ministers: but I am
 ashamed to argue with you, when I know you
 are only laughing about this question, and leav-
 ing Reform of parliament apart:—I repeat the
 question, whether the Whigs made a single sti-
 pulation, that when they came in, they should
 be allowed to carry a single one of their popu-
 lar professions into practice—in short, whether
 Mr. Fox made a bargain for, or let drop a word

of his intended adherence to one single point of the conditions which he had sworn in the face of his countrymen should be observed; and mark you, my Lord, not *after* he took office, but *before* he took office—he said the radical change “*must* take place, and *until* it did, he for one,” &c.

Am I wrong in saying, that the only question was as to *persons*, not to *principles*, and that the solicitude of your party was totally directed as to whom the King would, after your past conduct, consent to admit to his embrace? Am I wrong in saying, that you, Lord Erskine, felt as if dropped from the clouds, when you heard that the King had actually consented to your being his Chancellor? You tell the Replyer that he knows nothing of this matter; but all the world will know enough of the matter, if you are not able to give a simple *yes*, or *no*, as to the real *conditions* of the coalition. Was there any salvo for principle or not?—The Replyer had a right to presume there was none, because, not a single step was taken towards this RADICAL change of system. If you know there was, you owe it to your party to speak out—you owe it to the people to speak out; for you cannot think we are to be contented with such mere straw-tickling as that “*we forget*, the short continu-
“*ance* of your power;”—we forget “that it
“*was reduced* to nothing by the fatal illness of
“*Mr. Fox*;”—*we forget* that “it could not have

“ been fit, during that unhappy period, *unless*
 “ *under the most pressing necessities*, to alter what
 “ we found established, and to have resorted to
 “ immediate *untried* substitutions, merely for the
 “ support of our objections.”*

But Lord Grenville was not ill—he was prime minister, and if, as you pretend, all subjects of difference had ceased between you, he might have carried the measures. Respecting the *pressing necessities*, your Lordship must know, that the whole question always is, and has been, when these necessities are really arrived; that the trite, but trusted fallacy of ministers, is always to say that they are *not* come. You must know, that for twenty years your Whigs had been exclaiming that the pressing necessities *were* come; and you know that, according to Mr. Fox’s pledge, you should have come in to *alter what you found established*, and for nothing else. If you did not come in for this purpose, I say you were guilty of a base desertion of your former professions, and of your public duty; and if you did not come in with this understanding, that you were to effect this *alteration*, this *radical* change, you are grossly insulting us, by telling us that you might have done good, but only waited for a *pressing necessity*, and for the recovery of Mr. Fox’s health.

* Answer, page 60.

Such an excuse supposes that Lord Grenville was *not* united in principle, and would naturally relapse into his old measures, if not controled by Mr. Fox. Such an excuse does away with the necessity of apologizing for any one thing you did or omitted to do ; and is, as you say, an answer (*an answer !!!*) “ which manifestly applies to several other charges.”* Indeed it does—it applies to one as well as another : It applies to all—or it applies to none.

You needed not to have taken the trouble to defend a single measure of the coalition. You feel this, indeed, and it appears to me, give up almost all the points attacked.

For example. The settlement of foreign troops in England was “ against your opinions.” But you found them introduced by your predecessors ; “ could you forbear to legalize them ?” could you forbear to increase them, or in your fine round-about phrase, “ to apportion their “ numbers to the exigencies of our defence, at “ so critical a period of the war ?”—so you raised the foreigners to 16,000 troops.

The Barrack system!! “ you objected to it “ when first proposed in parliament ;” but the measure was carried, and the barracks were built, before you came into office. So you continued, and would have continued the barracks, in the face of Mr. Fox’s general definition of his

* Answer, page 60.

radical change, in spite of his solemn promise, if ever he came into place “*to govern the country by a system of liberty, instead of by a system of restraint.*”*

The Income tax. “It is true that you opposed it even as a war tax.” But you found it established, so “*you continued for a season that unpopular tax*: and being continued, it became necessary, either to square it with the exigencies of the state, or instantly to impose other taxes, which it required the utmost consideration to mature. This was our situation,” say you, “and we *expect credit from our characters*, that we should not have continued it in peace, or even in war, against objections so justly raised up against it.”

This is so like giving up the point, that you ought to be spared. But the Whig ministers made none of these allowances at the time: they said 10 per cent. was the *natural* limit of the proportion to be taken from every individual income. A Whig *naturally* leads the people. A Whig *naturally* takes a tenth from every man’s income; and to oppose him either in the one or the other pretension is *unnatural*. You *expect credit for your characters*. My good Lord, this will not do: you had credit for your characters for a long, long time; and the continuance of every obnoxious measure, which you had firmly de-

* Debates, Jan. 4, 1798.—Mr. Fox’s speech.

nounced, is a strange cause for demanding the confidence of the country for your future discontinuance of those measures. Besides, the income tax had found its natural limit, and the reason of prior establishment would become stronger every day. Yet you ask us to believe, that "you would not have continued it even in war;" but you did continue it. The concluding phrases are unintelligible, "*against objections so justly raised against it.*" I do not make out whether or not you mean to allow, that objections were justly raised against it at the time; if they were, how barefaced was it to continue the tax: if at any other time, when would that time arrive during war? Never, according to your own account. And yet the tax would have been dropped during war: and, for this, we are to take your word, upon the credit of Whig character!!! Yes, of these gallant financiers, whose great terror was, lest the national debt should be paid with a precipitancy detrimental to our commercial interests.

The Bank restriction you defend, as you defend the Income tax. It was done: and could not be undone. At least, not in a hurry. Although it was "*a dangerous departure from the principles of public credit.*"

Who would think that all these measures, which were to be controled, were emanations from and a part of that very system which Mr.

Fox pledged himself *radically* to subvert? Who would not rather believe them the laws of the Medes and Persians, or the immutable positions of the Koran, or those ancient institutions which the Iron Barons of England proclaimed they would not suffer to be changed?

If the Whigs changed nothing of the system of administration, either at the root or in the branch, but continued and encouraged the plan of *governing by parliamentary corruption*, it would be almost idle to inquire whether they seriously contemplated the least change in the system of Representation. You yourself give up the declaration of the Friends of the People, of that very society whose petition you seconded in parliament.—You give up the uniformity of suffrage.—You give up the new division of the country. You give up the near approach to universal suffrage: to the advocating of all which you have the candour (indeed, you could not possibly deny it) to own, you were a party; and this you do “at the risk of your character, “which now it seems (so you say) must attend “the smallest change of opinion.”*

What do you call the *smallest* change of opinion? it is the *whole* change, that is all. You have given up the Radical Reform, to adopt what? A reform derived from well considered additions “of county representations, and of

* Answer, p. 30.

“ populous towns, though never before represented.” That is to say, you are for preserving the rotten-borough system in undiminished lustre: for, my Lord, in spite of your indignation, I say, that this would *continue the infamous corruptions of rotten boroughs.** This is quite natural: we understand you, when you say, that you are like Mr. Burke, and are attached to such divisions of our country as *have been formed* by habit, and call it a wise saying applicable less to France than to England, “ *where we have so many proud recollections of freedom.*”† You have a right, of course, to change your opinion *in toto*; but, when you call that entire change, the *smallest* change; and when you defend that change by confounding the most disgraceful traffic that ever existed in any country, “ with the proud recollections “ of freedom,” you must consent to be laughed at even by the Rabble.

The reason given for abandoning your former demand for a very extended suffrage, shows a most lamentable want of information in matters in which you were once a principal actor. You will not come so near Universal Suffrage as you did formerly, “ whilst its supporters lie “ so close behind me, to batter down my proposition by the larger claim of an unqualified “ right. Those *adversaries had then no formidable*

* Answer, p. 27.

† Ibid, p. 31:

“*ble force.*” * Both these propositions are false facts. The advocates of Universal Suffrage, the great majority of whom, certainly in Westminster, argue from *utility*, not *right*, will not *batter down* any proposition of your’s for Reform. The excuse is all an assumption, and an absurd assumption; for, at this rate, no man should give a beggar a shilling in charity, for fear of having his purse snatched out of his hand, by a by-stander, and flung amongst the crowd. You yourself, as explained and defended by Mr. Fox, on the debate on Reform, in 1797, overthrew this puny objection. “My learned friend,” said Mr. Fox, “declared, if it be true, as it is so industriously circulated, that such and such men (dangerous men) do exist in the country, then surely, in wisdom, you ought to prevent their number increasing, by timely conciliation of the body of moderate men, who desire only Reform.” Lord Grey, in moving for Reform, in 1793, said, “He well knew that the chief difficulty to be encountered would be the argument as to the danger of the times. This, indeed, is a never-failing argument in times of prosperity and adversity, in times of war and of peace. He had no doubt it would continue to be made successfully, till THE PEOPLE RESOLVE FOR THEMSELVES there shall be a proper time.”

* Answer, p. 31.

As to the advocates for Universal Suffrage having no formidable force when you and the Whigs were the reforming Friends of the People, I do not know what you call formidable; but I have Lord Grenville's* authority for saying, that of the Reformers, the advocates of Universal Suffrage, were then "infinitely the more numerous:" and yet, at that very time, Lord Holland said he should *have voted* for Mr. Grey's plan, which would have given about 1,500 electors to each representative, and would have entirely subverted the present Borough system—and declared he "*wanted a system of administration founded upon Parliamentary Reform.*"†

You actually forget, that in your first pamphlet, you had represented the bolder Reformers as so *criminally* and *dangerously licentious*, that they forced the government to interfere. You actually forget, that in this very answer you say, that there were *tumultuous meetings*, and *an alarming mass of publications*. You forget, that in this very Answer you confess, that *very great multitudes were of opinion that even Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments were absolute rights of the*

* "The partisans of which said Universal Suffrage were "infinitely more numerous than those of moderate Reform."—*Lord Grenville*, Lords' Debates, Jan. 9, 1798. Mr. Fox, in his speech on Jan. 4, 1798, owned that "Universal Suffrage was by many supposed the best Radical Reform."

† See Lord Holland's speech, Jan. 9, 1798; and yet the Whigs now say Fox's *Radical Reform* was not a *Parliamentary Reform*.—Bah!!!—Laugh at them.

People. Now you say, they had no formidable force. But the fact is, that the *danger* is a mere feeble and ridiculous excuse, which you yourself laughed at formerly; and which is sometimes said *to* exist, sometimes said *not* to exist, just as it may suit the Whig weathercock of the day.

You appear to me to have lost memory of dates as well as facts, when you say, that the *tumultuous meetings, and the alarming mass of publications that led to the State Trials*, have now made the question of Reform AN ALMOST entirely new one since Lord Grey delivered his opinion on Reform in 1794. What! has he delivered no opinion about Reform since 1794? Why, the famous Declaration of the Friends of the People was in 1795. Mr. Grey's motion for Reform in Parliament, so often referred to, was in 1797.—Yes, that very motion, which would have remodelled the whole state of representation. Mr. Fox gave his celebrated opinion about the right of resistance in 1795, and his pledge for a radical reform in 1798. Have you no books? You say that you do not hope the same success from meetings of the people to forward Reform *at present*, as when they were recommended by Lord Grey and Mr. Pitt—and this change of opinion you attribute to the “continued and
“increasing prevalence of impracticable theories,
“and an excited spirit of irritation and discontent.” But I have before shown, that these

impracticable theories were allowed by your own Whigs to have been adopted by the *majority* of the Reformers, when the Whigs supported a very radical reform; and your own Whigs now say that the *majority* of the Reformers are against Universal Suffrage.* I have before shown how, in your own former opinion, the way to allay discontents, was to forward Reform, not to drop the question altogether; not to declare, that, on account of an inflamed and ungovernable spirit in the people, “any alteration in the forms of parliament must be, *for that season*, dropped.”†

Indeed, my Lord Grey sees no great harm in public meetings, independent of the agitation of the cause of Reform; for he recommends keeping up and stirring up the spirit of the people as the best preservative of liberty; and this he has said since the State Trials in 1794—he said it in last January.‡

I discover, however, that it is not the prevalence of the opinions in favour of Universal Suffrage, nor of any of those wild and visionary notions which the Whig Friends of the People professed, that will make your Lordship defer, *for a season*, any change in the representation. You once thought, you say, that although An-

* See Lord Grey's Newcastle Speech. See State of Parties. His Lordship and the Reviewer find the mass of the people *sound*—that is, Whigs.

† Defence, p. 30.

‡ See the Newcastle Speech.—*Newcastle Chronicle* for Jan. 9, 1819.

nual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage were claimed by very great multitudes, “ yet, *the subject in the end would be considered with temperance and moderation.*”* Why did you think this in 1794, at the very time of the “ tumultuous meetings” of the “ criminally licentious” societies, &c., whose existence you admit?—Why did you think so then, and do not think so now? You give your reason thus—“ But is this “ likely, Sir, at present, when almost every man “ of rank, of station, or property, who ever auspiciated the cause of Reform, has been proscribed and vilified”—that is, when interpreted and reduced to fact—when the Whigs have been told by the people that they have abandoned their former opinions on Reform. In other words—when the people presume to advocate the cause by themselves, without waiting until they and their cause shall be again *auspiciated* by the Whigs.

In the first place, admitting your position to be as true as it is exaggerated, think what a portrait you give of your patriots, when you describe them as deserting a great public cause, because they have been unjustly abused. Surely they had nothing to do, when they were accused

* I must add the *Because* in a note,—it is not worth large print :—“ Because the various classes of such a people as that “ of England, might have brought opinions and conduct to “ such a happy medium upon this important subject, as to “ have acted upon the prudence of parliament at no very “ distant period, with a tolerable effect.”—*Answer*, p. 24.

of having deserted Reform; they had nothing to do, but to show, by being more eager than ever in forwarding that object, how falsely they had been calumniated. This would have been an answer, indeed, rather more noble, more statesman-like, more dignified, and more effectual, than the retort by loud complaint and invective, which has been the principal answer these persons of rank, station, and property, have deigned to give to the Radical Reformers.* That they have not voted for Reform, I shall not deny; but I likewise affirm, that few of them have ever spoken on the subject, without contriving to denounce the Radical Reformers. But I need say little on this fact, as your Lordship seems to admit it, and to justify it.

It is requisite, however, to deny solemnly the truth of your position, as to the *proscription and vilification of almost every man of rank, station,*

* It is one of the present Whig fallacies, to make a distinction between the Radical Reformers now, and the Whig Radical Reformers, under the pretext, that the present Radical Reformers are all for Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage. But this is false; and Mr. J. W. Ward, in his Speech on May 20, in 1817, on Reform, very well observed, that the moderate Reformers were *those who would be content with partial alterations, applicable to what they deem particular grievances*. All other Reformers are Radical Reformers; and, as the Whigs from 1790 to 1798, cannot possibly be included in Mr. Ward's definition, they certainly were then, as we are now, Radical Reformers. That is to say, they wished entirely to re-model the Representation, and they proclaimed the PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE of Reform.

or property, whoever auspiciated the cause of Reform. Recollect, my Lord, you are talking of this having been done some time ago—you are not alluding to any of the transactions of last year: for you give this as a reason why the Whigs *had* not latterly been so active as formerly in the cause of Reform; so that the events of the late Westminster Elections did not come under contemplation;* although, if they did, they would not bear you out. And yet, in another place, you say the Reformers have started up from a *twelve years' trance*.† Have they been proscribing and vilifying in their sleep?—Or do you allude to what they said and did before that trance, namely, in the Election of 1807? You say that the Reformers *had ranged themselves under* the Whigs until *lately*. What do you mean by *lately*?‡—twelve years ago? My Lord, I suspect that you have admitted all that you have found in Whig speeches as incontrovertible facts; and that when you have read that the Whig invectives against the Reformers were in *reply*, you have believed that the original attack had been made by the Reformers. The spleen of the Whigs was first moved, I believe, by Sir Fran-

* The Report of the Westminster committee accused the Whigs of abandoning Reform. Lord Erskine shows why they had abandoned it—because they had been proscribed and vilified: so that the proscription and vilification must have been before the Report; indeed before the Election in 1818.

† Answer, p. 51.

‡ Ibid, p. 15.

cis Burdett calling Mr. Fox “ the best of patriots;” * and since that period, sundry Palace-yard and Crown and Anchor speeches have cried up the PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE of Reform, and the ABSOLUTE UNIMPORTANCE of who was *in* or who was *out* of place, unless as connected with the success of Reform. For, my Lord, you are as wrong as ever; there has been been *no twelve years’ trance*—and I should not have quoted the phrase, except to show, you did not know what you were writing about. You will find no proscription, no vilification at any time; but you will find that the Reformers have been asleep at no time. There has been no twelve years’ trance—it has been your Lordship rather, who, having had your head in a bucket for five minutes, have passed through all sorts of adventures, and have dreamt over the occurrences of many imaginary years.

Sir Francis Burdett, in his farewell address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, on the 28th of April, 1806, gave, by the picture he drew of the parties in the House of Commons, a tone to the language of the Reformers, which has never since been dropt.—His address of thanks to the Electors of Westminster was re-echoed by all those who had been disappointed by the coalition cabinet—that is, the great majority of the

* Yet, since that description, Mr. Sheridan said on the hustings, in Covent-garden, that, had Mr. Fox been alive, he would have voted for Sir Francis Burdett.

whole people of England. The nation began to be indifferent to names—they joined the representative of Westminster in asking themselves the question—“ *As long as the thieves in common take all they can seize, what is it to the plundered people who share the booty, how they share it, and in what combination ?*”*

At the first anniversary dinner in 1808,† although Mr. Byng and several other Whig members of parliament were in the room, the language of the day was such as to show that the Reformers had taken a decided line, from which no reverence for favourite names would induce them to depart. At the great Parliamentary Dinner Meeting on the 1st of May, 1809, the language held by the Radical Reformers was still more explicit, and a speech from Mr. William Smith, enabled them to come to an explanation with the Whigs. Mr. Smith, with a frankness which did him honor, and which has always distinguished his eminently useful career—told the meeting, that he could hold out little hopes to them of success; and drew his conclusion, in great part, from the failure of all the attempts

* Sir Francis Burdett’s Address to the Electors, May 25, 1807. See these documents in the “Exposition of the Circumstances which gave rise to the Election of Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. for Westminster, in May, 1807.” Published by Tipper, Leadenhall-street.

† See Proceedings of the First Anniversary Meeting of the Triumph of Westminster, Published by J. Morton, Strand.

made by the " Friends of the People." To this Mr. Waithman replied :—" He has told us a great deal about the society of the Friends of the People—that there were very able and honourable men in that society, I most readily allow ; but I should be glad to know, whether those times were more propitious than these in which we now live, for agitating the question of Parliamentary Reform ? And if not, I should be glad also to know, where all his great and noble friends now are, who were members of that society ? I remember Mr. Charles Grey and Mr. Tierney standing up champions for a Reform in Parliament ; but I have recently observed allusions by the same Mr. Charles Grey, now Lord Grey, in which he seems to sneer at gentlemen who take a leading part in the question of Reform, and in which he alludes to the crude notions of modern Reformers."

In another part of his speech he said, after mentioning Mr. Fox's assertion, that he would not come in without a Reform in Parliament—" I greatly lament to say, that however strongly I was individually attached to the members of that (Whig) administration, I saw not one of those great professions carried into execution ; nor did any one man in either house stand up to give a pledge to carry such measures as had been proposed before they came into adminis-

“tration, into execution.” In another place, Mr. Waithman said: “Whatever may be said “by Lord Grey, of the House of Commons, I “am still of opinion, that there is no difference “as to who are *in* or who are *out* under the “*present system*.”

The same gentleman then said, that since they had been *in*, the Whigs had deserted even the *Whig Club*.

I can refer your Lordship to the proceedings of the great meeting in Palace-yard in 1810, Feb. 9. The language of Mr. Sturch on that occasion, shows the Reformers were not asleep—shows they knew the Whigs well—and speaks in exactly the same tone as to the excellent individual character of members of the House, as you think so absurd and new in the Replyer. Mr. Sturch said—“Since the year 1780, we had “had political changes, and various ministries. “We had had Tory ministries, and we had had “Whig ministries. But had these changes produced any substantial alterations for the better? “Had there been any radical change of system? “. It was very far from his intention “to deny that there were *individuals* of great integrity in that House; but if they would have “an honest House, they must have free and “frequent elections.”* This exception in favor

* See an Account of these Proceedings published and printed by M^rCreery, 1810.

of individuals offended you in Sir Francis Burdett, and in the Replier; but Mr. Sturch repeated it in the subsequent part of his speech; and your Lordship may see that the language of the Radical Reformers has been invariably the same, and that, even whilst talking in their sleep of twelve years, they have been consistent in all that they have said. They have denounced Whigs as party men, because, when the party came in, nothing was done. They have respected Whigs as Reformers, and, in proportion as they appeared to stand by their original professions. Thus the Westminster Reformers openly condemned the OUTS as a body, for what they called rallying round the Constitution, against Sir Francis Burdett; but they voted thanks to such members of parliament as had stood by their representative.

After the liberation of Sir Francis Burdett, he addressed the electors at the Crown and Anchor, in a speech that so fully conveyed their sentiments, that they ordered it to be printed and circulated.* Sir Francis, commenting on Lord Grey's speech, observed, " We are told in this " same speech of Lord Grey, that it is the fa- " shion of the times to vilify and defame all " public men. I should like one of these vili- " fied and defamed characters to come forward,

* Published by Barker, Great Russell-street, Covent-garden, 1810.

“ and point out, in what he has been calumniated.” The same speech, circulated by the electors, begged the country to observe, that it was the Whigs who went *the great lengths* in defence of the privileges of parliament, and thus did the *dirty work* of the *ministers*. In those days, Mr. Wishart, Mr. Waithman, Mr. Clayton Jennings, and Mr. Sturch, were amongst the leading Reformers at the public meetings; they never made any exception to these opinions, and I am the better pleased with shewing from the gentlemen whose speeches I have quoted, that the language of the Reformers, and the complaints against them, have been always the same during this imagined twelve years’ trance; because, both Mr. Waithman and Mr. Sturch may now be admitted as conclusive authority, having lately become respectable in the eyes of the *Chronicler*.* When then you say, that the radical Reformers had ranged under the Whigs “ *until lately*,” † and that this is what “ rubs us,” you forget, or never knew, all that happened

* “ *The Chronicle*” calls him that respectable citizen, Mr. Sturch. We, radical Reformers, will not, as Bonaparte said, wash our dirty linen in public; so we will not regret the past, but hope for the future. Mr. Sturch’s name is to be found in all radical proceedings, since 1790, up to 1818. Surely he will not impair an honest reputation by suffering himself to be “ *patted upon the back*,” by poor Perry.

† Answer, p. 15. “ AYE, THERE’S THE RUB.” In p. 13 the word is, “ *until VERY lately*.”

since 1807. You forget even that you had said in your "*Defence*," that the bolder Reformers would *not* range themselves under the Whig Friends of the People, in 1793, and so got into scrapes by their own headstrong nature, by being without leaders, and by then "*suspecting the Whigs*."* The radical Reformers are *not*, I repeat, guilty of any sudden abandonment of their officers. If there has been desertion, the desertion is not to be charged against the PEOPLE.

The Reformers in Westminster have always been awake—sometimes they have been obliged to reproach the Opposition, at others they have been able to approach nearer to certain members of that party. This they have done from no humour of the moment, nor from any wish to lead or be led; but merely as there appeared an inclination amongst these gentlemen to become again earnest in the cause of Reform. But as to *personally proscribing and vilifying*, they have done no such thing. If there has been any proscribing and vilifying, it has been entirely on the side of the Whigs. For one instance which you will point out to me of the Radical Reformers calling the Whigs a faction, I will show you two of the Whigs abusing the Reformers, in good set phrases, in the true parliamentary slang. Besides, when you talk of all these persons of rank, &c. you must mean

* *Defence of the Whigs*, p. 10.

individually, not merely as included in their party. Now, let me ask, whom had the Westminster Reformers personally attacked before the last elections, (I say before the last elections, because your argument applies solely to that prior period) Lord Grey seems to be the person who has most frequently complained, so, I presume, he must have been most frequently attacked.

His Lordship is a very distinguished man, but mean as we are, we may say to him, as he said to Mr. Pitt—"we will never condescend to bargain with him, nor endeavour to conciliate his favor by any mode of compliment."*

What has been said at any time against Lord Grey, respecting his change of opinion on Reform, may certainly, as far as the language is concerned, be defended, by referring to himself: for I say, that he has never been called at any time by an epithet stronger or harsher than that which he applied to Mr. William Pitt in 1794—*An Apostate*. We will let alone the other names, "*prosecutor, aye, and persecutor too.*" I am not aware that this word had been ever distinctly applied to his Lordship at the time that he was thundering against the Reformers in the Lords, in the year 1810. But I conceive, that it would not be at all difficult to show, that Lord Grey

* Debate, May 6, 1793, on Reform.

does *stand apart* from his former opinions on Reform; and may, therefore, fairly be said to have apostatized. How far he stands apart is another question. I am under great difficulty in arguing with your Lordship, for I do not know what you will admit as evidence. The Replyer quotes to you an opinion of Lord Grey's, and you say—Oh, it is only “*a sentence picked out from some report of a speech at a tavern.*”^{*} But a report of a tavern speech is quite ground enough to make you rise up in arms against the “*disappointed*” Mr. Hobhouse.

However Lord Grey did, according to your own confession, in the House of Lords, own that he would not go the lengths he formerly went for Reform, for I find you using these words—“*I am decidedly adverse to those reforms which occasion so much alarm to government; so much so, that I should not be disposed at this moment to advance so far in any system of change, as that to which I formerly set my hand. I feel exactly in that respect, as I understand was expressed by a noble friend, now absent, whose motion I seconded in the House of Commons.*”[†]

That is to say, that neither Lord Grey nor you would advance so far for Reform as you did in 1793. But, without this admission from your

^{*} Answer, p. 20.

[†] Debates, March 25, 1817.

Lordship, I can easily prove that Lord Grey's opinions on Reform have undergone a most material change. I refer, without multiplying individual quotations, to all Lord Grey's speeches in 1793 and 1794, and 1797, whether his Lordship did not then maintain the PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE of Radical Reform. The recommendation to the people to meet in bodies, and act upon the *prudence*, that is, the *fear* of the House, is quite enough to prove that Lord Grey did then think that nothing was to be done without *radical* Reform. That his Lordship has dropped this notion of PARAMOUNT necessity, I think is tolerably clear, from his conduct and speeches in parliament. But I must quote a tavern speech, the report of which was very carefully taken, and very egregiously lauded in the Chronicle—I mean that spoken at Newcastle, at the Fox dinner in last January.

“ I am attached (said Lord Grey) to a Reform
 “ conducted upon moderate principles; always
 “ gradual, and guided by salutary precautions.
 “ But to those other principles of Reform, as
 “ erroneous in theory as they are irreducible to
 “ practice, I am a decided enemy, as I believe
 “ them to be absurd, visionary, and senseless.
 “ I should say, it appears to me, that there
 “ cannot be a more false, a more mistaken, a
 “ more mischievous belief, than that a reform in
 “ parliament, however desirable it may be, is the

“ one and only measure by which the salvation
“ of the country can be effected.”*

The second paragraph here quoted may serve pretty well to show what Lord Grey now thinks of the *paramount importance* of Reform. But, perhaps, a stronger inference may be drawn from the first.—His Reform upon *moderate principles, always gradual, and guided by salutary precautions*, cannot, by any sophistry, be the Reform of the Friends of the People; a society with which his Lordship identified himself, not only at the time, but even so late as the year 1810. On the 13th of June, in that year he referred to the proceedings of that society for his past, and, indeed, his then opinion; for, strange as it may sound, Lord Grey, even then, even in 1810, still seemed to wish to be called a *Radical Reformer*.

Now the Friends of the People positively disclaimed gradual Reform in so many words—both in 1794 and 1795—They said, “ *gradual alterations or partial improvements, though just and prudent in the retrenchment of expenses, and in the reduction of establishments, are, in their nature, unequal to the removal of a rooted, inveterate abuse. To prune the vicious plant, is to strengthen and*

* “ By another association we were accused, as I am accused in the present day, of not being a sincere friend to “ Radical Reform.”—Lords’ Debates, June, 1810.

Does not this hint both accusations to be equally unjust?

“*preserve it.*”* Again in 1795—*Gradual alterations or progressive improvements which some men recommend, would all be successively absorbed, and sink into the standing system.* “*Partial remedies* “*serve only to soften the symptoms and to induce a* “*habit of acquiescence, while they leave the root of* “*the evil entire. If an effectual reform of the* “*House of Commons is not to be had now, let us* “*take care not to make it unattainable hereafter,* “*by any act of agreement, or composition with the* “*mischief itself, or with the interests that support* “*it.*”

That these were Lord Grey's sentiments, and those of the Whig party, need not be re-asserted. Sir Philip Francis must have thought them so, when he republished these declarations in 1817.† Indeed, your Lordship not knowing that you would have to shift your ground in your Answer, does in your Defence pronounce the declaration of the Friends of the People to *be above all objection*—you call it “*practicable*”—you say it does not pass the *sober medium*; and yet this is any thing but a *gradual* Reform. But, perhaps your Lordship might like to see what Lord Grey formerly thought about those *absurd, senseless, and visionary* plans, so *erroneous in theory, so irreducible to practice*. These plans are, of course, Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage.

* See his pamphlet—*A Plan of a Reform in the Election, &c.*—Ridgway, 1817.

† Defence, p. 9.

Lord Grey, then, in his place in the House of Commons, said, *he did not approve the Duke of Richmond's plan of Reform, though he thought IT BETTER THAN THE PRESENT SYSTEM.** “Any plan would be better which would secure such people in the House, as would vote independently, and uninfluenced by corruption;—he could certainly mention a plan which appeared to him better,” &c. I need not add, that this is as much as to say, he thought Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage, not only reducible to practice, but better than the present practice—and one, which although he could name a better plan, was one of those plans which would answer the purposes of representation.

What then can Lord Grey mean by saying, as he did in the speech before quoted,—“*My opinions on Parliamentary Reform are already well known; to them I still continue attached, notwithstanding what I have said on some late occasions has been represented as a renunciation of my former opinions.*”

I ask you, Lord Erskine, whether I have not already shown, beyond hope of cavil, that Lord Grey has renounced his former opinions? When a member of the society of the Friends of the People, he was a Radical Reformer—his bill in 1797 was for a Radical Reform. Now he says, a Reformer on moderate principles. He was then

* Parliamentary Debates, May 6, 1793.

for doing all at once—he is now for being *always gradual*. He then talked of Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage, as better than the present system, and as admissible, though he knew a better plan. He now calls Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage absurd, senseless, visionary, impracticable.

He then would bring the people to the doors of Parliament to intimidate the members into Reform. He now calls the notion of the paramount, indispensable necessity of Reform, *false, mistaken, dangerous, and mischievous*.

This is APOSTACY—this is *standing apart* from his former opinions, or words have no meaning. It is idle for your Lordship to say that Lord Grey will again be found supporting Reform—at the happy, harmonious period which your Lordship fixes as the sole juncture when Reform can be claimed with justice or utility.* Perhaps he may—but even if he should turn out to be for Universal Suffrage *hereafter*, we shall have still been quite right in what we have said of his *former* conduct and expressed opinions. How could Lord Grey say his opinions on Reform

* “ But (be the time at hand or distant) whenever petitions
“ for Reform shall approach Parliament, proceeding from the
“ harmonious wishes of the various classes and degrees, which
“ can alone constitute a nation, and which above all nations
“ of the earth, binds together as one soul and body the inha-
“ bitants of Great Britain, I will venture to pledge my cha-
“ racter,” &c.—*Answer*, p. 26.

were well known? If he alluded to his old opinions, indeed, we find them as clear as words can make them in the declarations of the Friends of the People; but all that we can collect as to his present way of thinking, distinctly shows, that he no longer retains those old opinions.

I wish, my Lord! you had not put me upon this work. Lord Grey, strange as it appears to us, after the political *faux pas*, the slight slips of his Lordship's life, assumes, I understand, the fierce arrogance of insulted virtue.—He is, I should think, an irritable man, and is likely to act so much from immediate impulse, that even such a trifle as this pamphlet might justify, in his mind, a fresh attack on the Reformers.

Now his Lordship is one of those few Whigs whom I would rather have for us than against us; and if some forbearance from telling the truth would make him *apostatize* from his *present* principles, I, for one, should be highly delighted to see a man of his capacity and influence return to his old principles.

The memory of his Lordship's once decided character, when recalled by the occasional vigorous efforts which he now makes in defence of public liberty, is, I must own, more agreeable to my fancy than even the present perseverance of a dull man; and this I say with the thorough conviction, that, *at present*, the Reformers have no enemy so fatal to them as Lord Grey. There

is no accounting for tastes, and this is mine.—The oddity of the selection, and more than that, the arrogance of such a creature as myself, pretending even to approve of a Lord, will amuse, if it does not shock you; but we are all men, my Lord, and—if the scum should ever unfortunately be uppermost—who knows? perhaps it may be as well to have even my vote.

I have been seduced into this digression, by looking over (I have it now before me) Lord Grey's speech on the French war, in 1815: a very noble piece of parliamentary rhetoric, surely; and this brings me just to say, in passing, that if your Whigs had been a party, and had been a party pretending to any principles of union, you would all have opposed this war; but, on the contrary, I verily believe, that it was a Whig speech that gave the minister courage to go to war. I mean Mr. Grattan's. *You voted for the war.* What folly then is it to talk of party! You never combine and act altogether upon any great national question. Never upon a point decisive of some fixed principle. A powerful muster can never be made, except upon some motion warily set out with exceptions and provisions,* contrived more for

* In compliance with the bad men of the party, Lord Archibald Hamilton, one of the best men of the party, on the debate on the Scotch Burghs, was obliged most solemnly to disavow any connexion between his petitions and Parliamen-

the sake of collecting votes than displaying opinions. And yet you talk of an organized opposition: and have the assurance to say, that there is *no sentiment more universal* than that, "*such an opposition,*" even to *the most justly popular administration, is a great security to good government.** I rather think, I am as good a judge of what sentiment is universal as your Lordship is; and, I say, that if such a sentiment ever did prevail, it is now entirely exploded, except in those quarters where it will stick to the last, namely, amongst the members of this organized opposition themselves. Great *security to good government!!* it is a FARCE; it is the mainstay of *bad government*. It may do very well, whilst the being a member of parliament, is as Mr.

tary Reform. The whole struggle between the battalions on that debate (May 6) was to affix, and ward off, that odious and damnable suspicion. "I am against all innovation," said Lord Binning, "and this is neither more nor less than Parliamentary Reform." (No! no! no! from the opposition benches.) "I am as much against what is called Parliamentary Reform as any body," said Mr. Primrose, "but this is not Reform. I am for the petitions." Mr. Wynne was against every thing wild and visionary; but he would vote for the committee, as it pledged him to *nothing*. Then came George Canning of Liverpool; he called this one of the "*coarse,*" "*broad,*" "*gross,*" "*tyrannical,*" "*insulting,*" "*shapes*" of Reform; and ended an "animated" speech, so *The Times* calls it, by comparing the said monster to a *toad*, and himself to an angel, armed with the spear of truth.

* Answer, p. 4.

W. Ward called it, in the warmth of admiration, “a profession,”* (pity he did not add, a lucrative profession); but in a true Commons’ House, what we should have, would be, what you say would be of “no use to the people whatever;” that is, “*a desultory attendance of the honestest and most enlightened men.*”† Here is a charming eulogium on the present state of representation, and brings me back naturally to the main question, as to the “*proscription*” and “*vilification*” of our apostate Reformers, by the radical Reformers.

I have shewn how materially Lord Grey must have changed his opinions on the subject of Reform; for it is not an adequate confession to say, as his Lordship did, in 1810, that there had been “in subsequent times, some differences from his former professions;”‡ but I do not think you can shew me any proscription or vilification of him by the Reformers. As we are no party, we are not answerable for individual attacks; and in the present state of the controversy, I presume your Lordship would not think of making the Reformers, whose defeat you rejoice in, (that is, the Westminster Reformers,) answerable for Mr. Cobbett’s strictures on the

* Speech, in 1817, on Sir Francis Burdett’s motion on Reform.

† Answer, p. 40.

‡ Debates, June 10, 1810.

Whigs. In truth, the Whigs have lately been quoting the scripture of the "Register," with much delight against the Westminster Reformers. Besides, Mr. Cobbett's pen has been in activity during the *twelve years' trance*, so you can have alluded only to the body of men usually known by the name of the Westminster Committee. I protest then, that I am at a loss to know where to look for the "proscription and vilification" of these Whig persons of "*rank, station, and property*;" nor do I know, with the exception of Lord Grey, to whom in particular you would allude. The coalition of 1806 certainly convinced the people of England, that the struggles of party in parliament were struggles, not for principles, but for power; and that conviction will be found in the proceedings of the Westminster Reformers, but that is not proscribing and vilifying almost all persons of rank, station, and property; if it is proscribing and vilifying them, they should be proscribed and vilified; for it is a truth indelibly fixed in the public mind. —It is not at all surprising, that Lord Grey should have drawn no small share of the public odium upon himself, since he took part with the Borough-mongers against the people of England, in the great question which was tried in the person of Sir Francis Burdett, in 1810. Then it was that his Lordship proclaimed, that he considered the people should be suppressed in their

attempts to act upon the prudence of the house, as readily as the unconstitutional invasions of the crown should be resisted. Then it was that the ardour of the citizen took in his eyes a depraved direction, and was no longer to have any influence upon the deliberations of the senator.* Then it was that his Lordship chose to question the title of Sir F. Burdett to the claim of martyrdom,† but he also was candid enough to confess, that the title had been allowed by the people. And if he is to be praised for confessing, that he would stand by the privileges of parliament, and what he thought his duty, at the risk of his popularity; it must at the same time not be made a matter of complaint, that he has incurred the penalty which he magnanimously professed

* “ And if the deliberations of parliament would be impeded by popular insult and commotion, why not as necessary to suppress the *civium ardor prava jubentium*, as the “unconstitutional invasions of the crown on the freedom of “parliament.”—*Lord Grey’s speech, Parliamentary Debates, Lords, June 13, 1810.*

† “ Sir F. Burdett says, that he is a martyr to the good old “cause, for which Sydney and Russell bled on the scaffold; “but Sydney and Russell did not fall martyrs to their resistance to any stretch or undue exercise of the power or privileges of parliament.”—*Speech, June 13, 1810.* But, by his Lordship’s leave, the good old cause was, and is, the cause of liberty; and whether the tyranny emanates from a cabinet of courtiers, or an assembly of borough-mongers, resistance to it is alike meritorious, and will equally make a martyr.

himself to despise.* On that occasion his Lordship certainly pulled off the gloves, and he would have thought his universal defiance rather ridiculous than glorious, if he had not roused a single adversary out of his whole world of opponents. He had, indeed, a foretaste of some future antagonists from his friend Lord Stanhope, before he left the house, who at once told him what was then, and always will be, the vice of all Whig declamation, and what, I think, is the peculiar characteristic of Lord Grey's eloquence; he said, that as to the support to which Lord Grey would pledge the house for "the ancient and essential rights and privileges of parliament," this "*he thought too indefinite; his noble friend's definitions were not so precise as they might have been.*"† Lord Stanhope then said, that, a cer-

* "I cannot but feel a deep regret, if I am deprived of my popularity, by any misunderstanding of my views and objects on the part of the people; but it excites my indignation, if I am robbed of my popularity, by the basest misrepresentations, and the vilest delusions practised by men, who, without any regard to truth, sacrifice every really virtuous and patriotic object to the shouts of popular clamour. To obtain such a popularity requires neither virtue nor talents. Indeed, men without virtue or talents are the best fitted to acquire such a popularity. Men who, as we have seen in the present day, set themselves above all the decencies of private life, and above all those courtesies which men, who really endeavour to do their duty, concede even to their adversaries."—*Speech of Lord Grey, as above.*

† See Debates, as above.

tain supporter of the privileges of parliament
 “ had broached doctrines which, if they were
 “ well founded, it would be *more tolérable to live*
 “ *in Turkey* than in any country where such
 “ doctrines were countenanced.”

And this is a good place for observing a small slip in your Lordship’s memory, about this very speech of Lord Grey’s, in 1810. Your “ Answer” * positively denies the assertions of the Replyer, that “ this speech was an uncalled-for declaration against all Reform, and all Reformers.” I happen to have the report of Lord Erskine’s speech upon the proposed address of Lord Grey, on this very occasion :—

“ *He agreed with the noble earl (Stanhope) in*
 “ *the opinion which he had formed of the just pri-*
 “ *vileges of either house, being commensurate to the*
 “ *necessity of the case, and being founded by that*
 “ *necessity. He was sorry, that a motion on-such*
 “ *a subject should be brought forward in a manner*
 “ *that appeared to him to be hasty, and as if made*
 “ *on the spur of the occasion. He must declare,*
 “ *that he did not feel any of that alarm which was*
 “ *entertained by many, of the dangerous views of*
 “ *those who were amongst the foremost in seeking*
 “ *for Reform. He did not believe there were any*
 “ *considerable body of men in this country; he*
 “ *was sure that he did not know any man who ap-*

* Answer, p. 19.

“peared to him to have any further object than to
 “obtain what to them appeared the ESSENCE and
 “SPIRIT of the CONSTITUTION. Many of these
 “men might be mistaken in their opinions; but
 “when it was recollected what an ardent spirit
 “prevailed in the time of our forefathers, and how
 “much blood had then been shed in the defence of
 “what they conceived the liberties of the country,
 “men could hardly be condemned at present for
 “feeling a considerable degree of zeal and ardour
 “on such a subject.”

So said Lord Erskine, in 1810.

This is a noble and a just defence of all the radical Reformers; and it is a defence manifestly against Lord Grey, whose address you call *hasty*; is not that word as good as “*uncalled-for?*” It was not an answer to Lord Liverpool, the only ministerial speaker before your Lordship, except as far as Lord Liverpool had expressed the “*most entire satisfaction*”* at Lord Grey’s sentiments concerning the privileges of parliament. You sealed your opinion on this point by not dividing with Lord Grey. The Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Douglass, and Lord Stanhope, also refused to take part with the Parliament against the People: they left the house with your Lordship. How then can you be astonished if the radical Reformers occasionally

* Debates, 1810. June 13, as above.

recollect the decisive line taken against them, by Lord Grey, in the imprisonment of Sir F. Burdett? It did not happen so long ago; you thought it *hasty* at the time; and, although you now choose to defend him for attacking "*all such Reformers*" as the Replyer,* yet at the time, I say, you thought there was not a single dangerous Reformer, not a single man amongst them who appeared to have any "further object" than obtaining what he thought "the essence and spirit of the constitution."

Your Lordship had forgot you differed from Lord Grey on that momentous question; but we have not forgot it: we are grateful for your defence of us *then*, and are glad to set it off against your attack on us *now*. The inconsistency, indeed, is not a little puzzling; but I have been accustomed to it, by looking over Whig speeches, and by attempting, if possible, to collect together any knot of men, however small, acting upon any single principle however indefinite, to whom may be applied upon the slightest pretext, the modest and favourite title of *the great body of the Whigs of England*.

In the question of Reform, it is "confusion worse confounded;" for here, in this pamphlet

* "He spoke only against all such Reformers as I have alluded to, and (if I may judge from your pamphlet) against "all such Reformers as yourself."—*Answer*, p. 19.

of your's, I can quote excellent premises for quite contrary conclusions.

In page 18 you declare, that you and Lord Grey have been disappointed, by the radical Reformers, from "*effecting the Reform recommended by the Friends of the People.*"

In pages 29, 30, and 31, you give us distinctly to understand, that you have "*rejected, upon maturer reflection,*" what is certainly the whole of the plan of radical Reform, recommended by the Friends of the People. If so, the radical Reformers have not prevented you from effecting this plan. You are not for this plan yourself.

In page 17 you are angry not to be thought an advocate for a *general* change in the Representation. In page 31 you tell us, that an addition to the county representation, and to that of populous towns, is the *specific* Reform you would adopt. You do not seem to understand the subject; and what with attacking those with whom you used to agree, and defending those with whom you used to differ, you have so puzzled your argument, that you forget that you have one indispensable duty to perform, before you either attack or defend others, namely, to reconcile yourself with yourself.

You should not have forgotten, that the reason which you have given for the change of the question as to Reform—that is, the *proscrip-*

tion and *vilification* of the former *auspiciators* of that claim, did not operate with you at all in 1810, at which period you did not see the danger you now see from any Reformers; and yet that separation of the people and the Whigs had evidently commenced before 1810. You should have recollected, that in hinting at the patriotism of the Westminster Reformers starting up after a *twelve years' trance*, you must doubtless mean to say, that they have not done any thing, either good or bad, since the election of 1807—what then in their conduct can have changed your opinion since 1810?—not the elections in 1818 or 1819; because the defence which you make for the Whigs refers to their conduct before that period, for which conduct you give the excuse, that before that period they were *proscribed* and *vilified*.

I have before said this could be no excuse, were it even true; but it is not true. Your Lordship's friends are apt to exclaim against the slightest remonstrance, against the plainest exposition of a sober truth, as if it were the most injurious reviling of rancour and ingratitude. As a proof of this, I must refer you to the outcry raised against the Report of the Westminster Committee; which, though it does not enter into your Lordship's proofs of proscription and vilification, was doubtless considered in that light by your

friends. Now the strongest phrases in that report are the two following, the first of which succeeds the quotation from Mr. Grey's speech of 1794, when he denounced Mr. Pitt as an Apostate:—

“ Nothing can be more severe than the indigna-
 “ tion so properly expressed by Mr. Grey against
 “ those who had apostatized from the cause of
 “ Reform: and nothing can bring public men
 “ into contempt so completely, as such unprin-
 “ cipated and shameless apostacy. When, there-
 “ fore, Mr. Grey, and the whole of his party,
 “ joined with the Grenvillites, the unrelenting
 “ persecutors of Reform, they justly excited the
 “ contempt of the people.” The second is:—

“ The feelings excited by the Electors of West-
 “ minster mainly contributed to expose, still
 “ further, the enormous iniquities of both the
 “ factions.”

This is expressing, and strongly too, an opinion of the coalition in 1806; but it is not personal proscription and vilification. I affirm, that there is much more of personal proscription and vilification to be found in what I have quoted from Lord Grey's speech in 1810, and much stronger general language in the denunciations of his late Newcastle speech.

However, it was quite enough to make the Whigs resolve upon running every risk of loss of character, and to prove that they were not apos-

tates from Reform, by opposing the Reformers in Westminster. I have only slightly quoted Mr. Lambton's speech, nor would I now refer to it, had he not many years left him to repent: but as the Whigs were audacious enough to say, that the Reformers struck the *first* blow at the late election, I must put down the codicil which the member for Durham added to his father-in-law's *will* against us.*

Mr. Lambton then told us we "*had been borne aloft by the tide of popular commotion*"—"been lifted above the sphere to which we had been condemned by our natural insignificance, and to which we must now return." He said, "*these Radical Reformers, these advocates of Annual Parliaments and Universal Suffrage*, (as if the phrases were synonymous) *with liberty in their mouths*"—"had contributed to the increase of slavery more" than "*the united power of corruption and despotism.*" He told us we "*could only rise by tumult and riot to the unnatural elevation that*" we "*sought.*" He called us "*brawling, ignorant, but mischievous quacks,*" with whom "*the true people of England held no communion.*" He said that our "*doctrines and views were*

* See the Newcastle Chronicle for Jan. 9, 1819. Mr. Lambton, by the word "*demagogues*" seems to have had some individuals in his eye: but he must know that, as he named nobody, the offence was against the whole body of Radical Reformers.

exposed to universal derision and abhorrence ;" and ended by "*tearing away the veil which concealed the deformity of our features, which,*" he added, "*now inspire nothing but disgust.*" Now, I daresay, that Mr. Lambton thought that we, the Radical Reformers in Westminster, would be too happy to be dismissed so quietly, and would

" Seek us out dishonourable graves."

But, oh ! the unquenchable insolence of "*naturally insignificant*" souls ! we published the "REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE." The Whigs cried out at the Election, " why did not the Reformers make their complaint before ?" We might say — " why did not Lord Grey and Mr. Lambton make their attack before ?" The Newcastle Chronicle arrived with the excommunication of the Reformers on January 12. The Report was prepared in the course of the subsequent fortnight : but it could not be read until the last general meeting. After this, we must hear no more of the *first* attack coming from the Reformers on the late occasion. On the Thursday following Sir Samuel Romilly's death appeared a paragraph in the Chronicle, calling the friends of government and the Reformers in Westminster the "*two extreme factions ;*" and shortly before the meeting of Parliament, appeared a series of essays (stupid enough to be

sure) against the Radical Reformers. The Report, in point of time, was only a *Reply*. The Whigs think they are to hit out at us like boxers against a wall, to put themselves in wind. If we retort, they cry out, like little parlour-boarders, that they “don’t make hitting in the face,” it bloodies their clean gentlemanly cheeks and fine shirts. But, let them leave us alone, then; for I assure your Lordship, that most of us are like myself, who have no taste whatever for that kind of battle:—

“Ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.”

Your Lordship cannot expect that the same sort of decent deference and respect can be shown by the people at large towards public men, as you are accustomed to pay them. The people feel acutely every thing that affects their interests; and, as all their statesmen invariably talk of those interests as the sole object in their view; they must be allowed, now and then, some expressions of feeling when they think themselves neglected or betrayed—much more when they are manifestly mocked at and insulted. When their politicians make a speech against their way of thinking, they don’t stand staring, as your Lordship did at Lords Grey and Grenville when they opposed the Corn Bill, “absorbed in the

“contemplation of *how fearfully and wonderfully*
 “both in mind and body, *we are made.*”*

Good, my Lord, we are not quite come to that; we have something else to do than to make moral reflections upon the composition of those who are to make laws for us—we have to think only of the composition of the laws themselves, which indeed, generally seem to be made also in fear and wonder: fear, at some imaginary evil; and wonder, that any body should be so vile as to object to them.

It would not be decorous in you to give way to your real feelings, when you have them—you would discompose the company and spoil the play—you are one of the actors. But I say again, as I said before, the sincere applause and the cordial hissing must come from where the money comes, from the vile people below.

You wish to be kings of the dictionary, and to keep even the coarse language of our vernacular for your own use: for I do not find it ever so much objected to as when it comes from those from whom it ought to have been expected more than others—the people. It must be confessed, that we soar with very weak wings indeed, when we attempt to reach the Billingsgate flights of the

* Answer, p. 25. Mr. Ricardo in this respect was as fearfully and wonderfully made as these two Lords—he wrote against the Corn Bill.

House of Commons' orators; and yet, our efforts are criminal—theirs are all in course. The reason perhaps, is, that when we complain, we mean something—when a parliamentary talker is rude, he means nothing—It is only a part of the FARCE, not worth being angry at; besides, it is much more easy to resent an insult than to redress a wrong.

Whatever may be the cause, I repeat, that I could pick out from Whig attacks on the people, expressions much stronger than any to be found in popular denunciations of any party.—Even your Lordship's Answer* abounds in phrases of

* The *diverting* nature of the Reply, and the jolly habits of the Replyer, have been before noticed—next come a *disgusting want of temper*—an *indecent contempt of fact*, p. 8. *Calumnies at a tavern meeting*, (that is, Mr. Hobhouse's speech)—*deserted and slandered*, p. 13. *Gross and wilful misrepresentation*, p. 16. *Gross and wilful misrepresentation*, p. 17. *Coarse, illiberal, and unfounded*, p. 19. *Grossest and most palpable misconstruction*, p. 20. *Slanderosly attempted*, p. 27. *You must have been quite conscious that you were grossly misrepresenting me—“and you must have introduced the word THEY to express that I had so written, WELL KNOWING THAT I HAD NOT,”* p. 37. *“Disgusting departure from every principle of justice,”* p. 39. *Coarse and vulgar remarks—senseless tirade*, p. 40. *Your purpose to defame*, p. 41. *An inflamed attack, more fit to be addressed to a mob, &c.* p. 43. In p. 44, the Replyer is a defamer, a dunce, a reptile, and a mummy; and the Answerer is Mr. Pope, who preserves him, quite against rule, in the museum of his wit—next comes—*your own dark colours—falsely representing*, p. 47. *Calumnious complaints—you ought to be considered as a libel-*

scorn, contempt, and derision of your correspondent; such as, if used originally by me, would have subjected me to every opprobrious epithet.

Your Lordship seems, in the true style, most hurt at being charged with indecorum; but in looking over your Pamphlet, I find words, which in me would not be so very decorous. Let us, however, look at this *indecorum*—it is, I find, the “indecorum of self-applause,” which most shocks you as a charge against you. But how do you rebut this charge?—by saying that it is notorious, you became suspected of being the author of the Defence of the Whigs, because you were not praised more than twice in that defence, and that praise was only incidentally given!!!*

ler, p. 51. *Indecent language*, p. 63. *Most contemptible*, p. 63. *The same unjust and peevish spirit which so disgustingly distinguishes almost every sentence you have written*, p. 8. All which weapons of oratory are brought up in the rear by an appropriate metaphor, which serves the triple purpose of a joke, a reproof, and a defence of the Whig tax on private breweries. “But your *bile*, nevertheless, which, for twelve years together, “has been fermenting in your *private* brewery, has at last so “publicly boiled over, that under the general law you are liable “to be taxed,” p. 70. Alas, poor Whiggery! to be left to such a defender. Did I not say that Lord Grimstone had got a dangerous rival?

* “It is notorious I became suspected of being the author, “because, amidst the necessity of stating several important

If I were to say, as you do of a passage in the Reply, that “ I was never more diverted in my life” than when I read this—should not I be hooted down as one who had indecently exposed the acknowledged failings of a man, arrived at that time of life when failings are apt to predominate over good qualities? Would not every decent, demure Whig creature cry out—so, you attack a poor old fellow for his vanity?—oh! for shame!

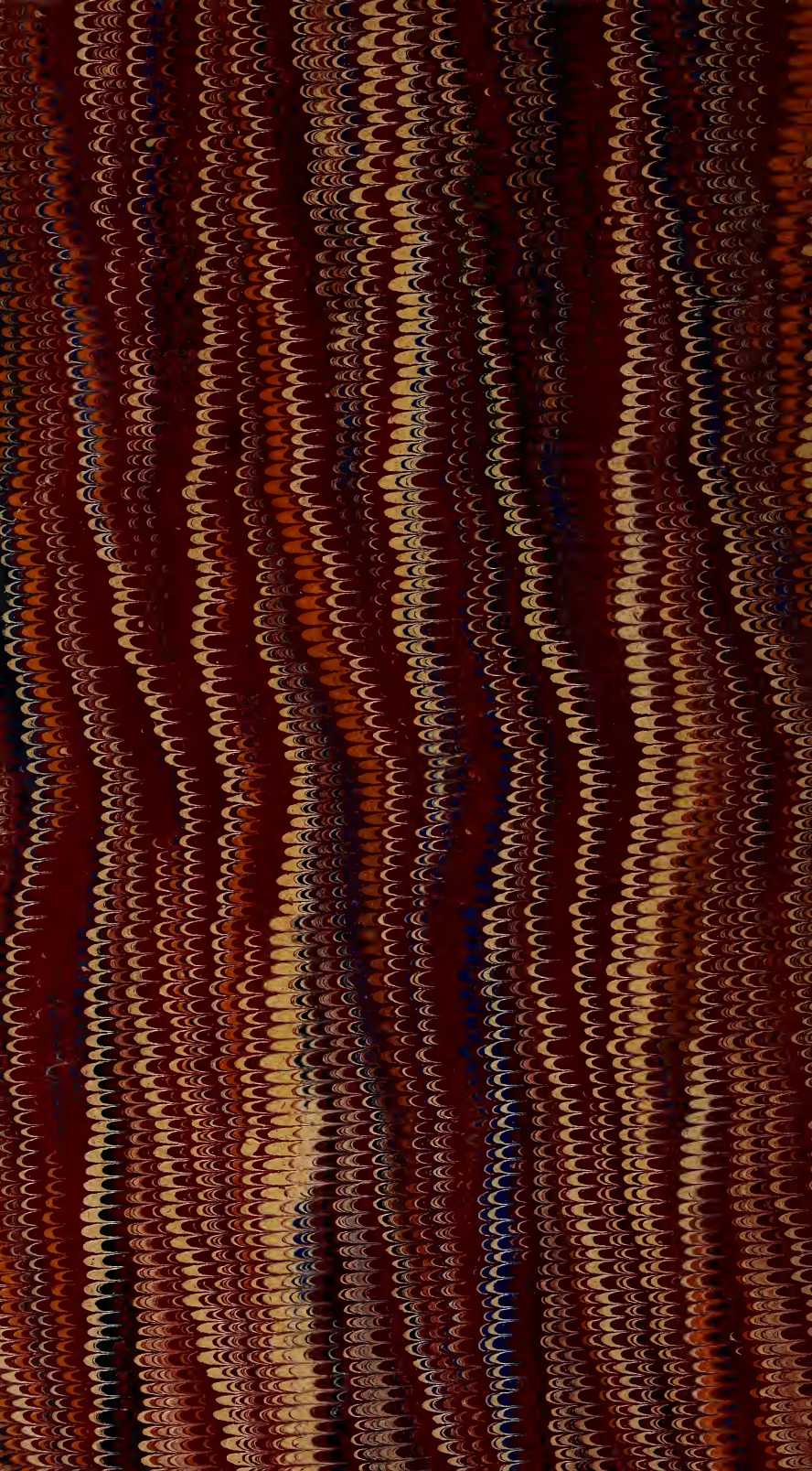
I know very well what will be said, if any thing is said, of this letter to you. I know that the author will be set down as a man without any taste, or sense of shame—as a gross, malignant, ignorant, presumptuous libeller of all the venerable names that were ever “ *great to little men.*” But I shall expect some little forbearance from your Lordship, because, a great deal of what I write is copied from the pure repositories of Whig oratory; and mean though I am, I must still think myself not wholly so, since my composition has been, in a great measure, quickened by the breath of Whig nostrils—or, if that shall be no inducement to moderation, because I have forbore to make the most of what you say about the “ indecorum of self-applause,” as well

“ events, in which I had been personally active, I blended myself with the opposition, without the least allusion to any merit of my own,” &c. &c.—*Answer*, p. 8.

as to comment upon some twenty quibbles which I marked down on first reading your Answer.

And so, my Lord, I conclude these “More Last Words” of mine, by praying, that you will leave the abuse of the Electors of Westminster to those in whose mouths it is graceful—and do, if you can, do persuade some persons of rank, station, and character, once more to “auspiciate” the cause of Reform.

THE END.





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